THE DESCENDANTS OF THE STUARTS.

A. FRANCK
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THE

DESCENDANTS OF THE STUARTS.

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DESCENDANTS OF THE STUARTS.

An Unchronicled Page in England's History.

BY WILLIAM TOWNEND.

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THE AUTHOR RESERVES THE RIGHT OF TRANSLATION.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE written, what has hitherto been unchronicled in our annals, a history of the Descendants of the House of Stuart.

To the public, whose kind forbearance I claim, a brief explanation is due of the motives which have dictated the publication of this work.

In the first place, I have been influenced by the desire to supply a desideratum in English history.

I have also wished to show that if dynastic history is lost sight of in recounting our national chronicles, the reader is left in ignorance of the secret, in contradistinction to the avowed motives, which have governed our diplomacy.

Moreover, I think it important, that, *as the abolition of the Oath abjuring the Descendants of the Stuarts, in order to facilitate the admission of the Jews into the legislature, now forms a question of the day*, no information relating to this exiled family, proving or disproving the existence of their

descendants, should be withheld from the public, in order that they may arrive at a correct decision upon the subject.

And, lastly, I consider that this history of the Stuarts is due to that illustrious House, whose genealogical records have so long been involved in obscurity.

That a narrative of the Roman Catholic Stuarts is a desideratum in Anglican literature, is proved by the absence of such a work.

That national history, if written unconnectedly with dynastic, conveys but an inadequate idea of the secret policy of a kingdom, is evident,—for it is in the connexional ties subsisting between the sovereigns that we must seek for an elucidation of the motives which have instigated their polity,—the friendship or hostility of one royal brother towards another being generally affected by these considerations. The history of our own country, which I adduce as a specimen, will be found to corroborate the truth of this assertion; for, from the times of the Conqueror to the present day, have not dynastic, rather than national interests, regulated its policy? In the following epitome of its chronicles, read the reply:—

William the First's reign was disturbed by conflicts with France, originating in the countenance afforded Robert, William's son, by the French king.

The regalities of William the Second and Henry the First were influenced by precisely the same

considerations as those which had affected their father's.

Stephen's reign was a protracted civil war, owing to the dynastic disputes engendered betwixt himself and his cousin Matilda.

The sway of Henry the Second is little else than a relation of disputes between father and son;—the French king, as usual, being drawn in as an accessary, by his espousal of the interests of the latter.

Richard the First's royalty is a narrative of conspiracies and counterplots on the part of his brother.

John was more fortunate, although he inaugurated his reign by the murder of his nephew: he had no sons who disputed his title, and the contest in which he engaged with France is perhaps the first which may be truly termed national.

Henry the Third's empire was disturbed by the pretensions of his relative, Simon de Montfort; but with foreign powers his relations were more peaceful than had been any of his predecessors.

Edward the First's royalty is generally considered glorious; although the dynastic war which he waged with Scotland, consequent on the disputed succession to that throne, and in the course of which he perpetrated such cruelties, considerably detracts from his personal merits.

Edward the Second's reign was, so far as regarded the monarch personally, the most cruel and calamitous of any of our princes; for here, shocking to relate, we find the wife arrayed against her husband,

and actually a murderess for the sake of her paramour.

Edward the Third's disputes with France were entirely dynastic and anti-national; and were based upon his pretensions to the French crown, which he assumed were valid, despite the operation of the Salic law.

The reign of Richard the Second was most calamitous, as it originated those direful civil wars, which for more than half a century desolated England, consequent on the usurpation of the throne by his cousin Henry of Lancaster.

Henry the Fourth's reign was disturbed owing to the informality of his title, and one pitched battle, at least,—that of Shrewsbury, was hazarded on behalf of the lineal heirs

The domination of Henry the Fifth is usually considered glorious, as his many chivalric qualities conspired to keep in oblivion the claims of the yet unforgotten lineal princes. His war with France, originally national, speedily degenerated into a dynastic one, by his marriage with Katherine, the French king's daughter; on which event he advanced pretensions to the throne of France, based upon legitimate right.

The royalty of Henry the Sixth is the most disastrous recorded in our annals. The claims of the lineal heirs, which had been disregarded during the reigns of the preceding Harries, could no longer be disguised under the sway of a weak and imbecile

prince; and the miseries attendant upon a disputed succession became more manifest than had before appeared. The reign of Henry was a protracted dynastic contest, in which national interests may be said to have been wholly unaffected. His claims to both the French and Anglican thrones were ultimately negatived, and after a great sacrifice of life, in which, out of all our nobility, not twenty are said to have survived, the crown fell into the possession of the lawful claimant,

Edward the Fourth; when the nation, exhausted by its deathlike struggles, silently submitted to his sway.

The reign of Edward the Fifth, however, was destined to renew all the horrors of a contested succession; and the murder of this prince by his uncle Richard, of Gloucester, forms another bloody stain on our national annals.

Richard the Third, a usurper, a murderer, and with an adverse Lancasterian faction, could not reasonably expect to remain long upon the throne; nevertheless, the animosities engendered betwixt the rival Roses were now so bitter, that the Yorkists condoned his usurpation and murder of his nephew rather than submit to the domination of the detested Lancasterian party.

Henry the Seventh completed the virtual annihilation of the Yorkists on the field of Bosworth; but his title, even supposing the Lancasterian princes to have been the rightful claimants, was so defective,

that he gladly remedied this informality by espousing the lineal heiress, Elizabeth of York; although even this measure failed to allay the dynastic heats which had raged with such inveteracy; and the rebellions of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck prove how far the Yorkists were from being satisfied with the union of the rival Red and White Roses.

Henry the Eighth, as the lineal heir, with an undisputed title, was more fortunate. The war in which this sovereign engaged with France may be termed the second national one since the accession of the Conqueror.

The reign of Edward the Sixth was, on the whole, prosperous; although the desperate attempts made by his guardians to woo for him the beauteous Mary of Scotland, engendered a short-lived contest with the northern kingdom.

Mary the First's royalty was disturbed by dynastic disputes, consequent on the pretensions advanced by Lady Jane Grey, the Protestant parliamentary heiress, to the throne; claims which, although partially sympathized with, were ultimately negatived by the nation.

Elizabeth's sway, like her sister's, was agitated by the pretensions of a cousin competitor; and, like her, she triumphed over her rival, the innocent Mary falling a victim to her jealousy. Contrary to the policy of her predecessors, Elizabeth lived in amity with France, her attention being wholly engrossed by the hostility evinced towards her by Spain. The

war in which she engaged with that power might be termed dynastic rather than national, since it is evident that it was Philip's marriage with her sister Mary which first induced him to interfere in our internal concerns.

The reign of James the First, the lineal representative of both the Saxon and Norman dynasties, was undisturbed. The vague conspiracy on behalf of Lady Arabella Stuart hardly meriting that name.

Charles the First's royalty is a history of disputes between Prelatists and Presbyterians, and a monarch and his subjects; the former striving to retain his authority, and the latter seeking to deprive him of it. The overweening conceit of the Presbyterians, in violently endeavouring to subvert the national church, certainly originated the contest, however its ulterior object may have changed by the predominance of another, and rival party.

Charles the Second lived in amity with France, primarily determined to this policy by the dynastic ties which connected him with the French monarch.

James the Second, naturally inclining to a pacific polity, followed in the wake of his brother. The dynastic war engendered with France, consequent on James's deposition and the usurpation of his throne by his son-in-law, is notorious.

William the Third, actuated by feelings of personal hatred towards Louis Quatorze, *reinaugurated the*

discarded policy of the Plantagenets; a policy which for the last two centuries had been falling into desuetude, and which it was reserved for this monarch to reanimate with, if possible, increased inveteracy.

Queen Anne, George the First, George the Second, and George the Third, walked in the steps of their Orange predecessor,—were engaged in perpetual warfare with France, and abjured the peaceful notions which, since the times of Edward the Fourth, had gradually influenced our national polity.

Under George the Fourth the unnatural hostility existing between England and France may be said to have received its death-blow; the chivalrous support which our sovereign rendered to Louis the Eighteenth earning for him the eternal gratitude of that good old prince—who perhaps of all monarchs that have ever reigned conferred the most lasting benefits upon his subjects without meeting with the slightest return of gratitude. And thus for George the Fourth was reserved the honour, not only of allaying the animosity existing between the rival countries, but also of repaying the princely hospitality evinced by Louis's ancestor towards James the Second.

That the Oath abjuring the descendants of the Stuarts, and which, be it remembered, *is taken by all members of parliament and public functionaries*, is incongruous as to the language in which it is couched, is notorious; although it is simply the verbiage, not the intention of the Act, which the death

of Henry of York has rendered inapplicable.* That the objection so frequently raised, that it is farcical abjuring the Stuarts when none exist, is not a correct one is undeniable, although it bears upon it *primâ facie* the impress of truth; and those who raise this cavil about words should consider that it is the spirit

* The Oath as at present administered, after the form established by 6 George III. c. 53, is couched in the following language:—"I do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our Sovereign lady Queen Victoria is lawful and rightful queen of this realm, and all other her Majesty's dominions and countries thereto belonging, and I do solemnly and sincerely declare that I do believe in my conscience, that not any of the descendants of the person who pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of King James the Second, and after his decease pretended to be and took upon himself the style and title of King of England, by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland, by the name of James the Eighth, or the style and title of King of Great Britain, hath any right or title whatsoever to the crown of this realm, or any other dominions thereto belonging. And I do renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to any of them: and I do swear that I will bear faith and true allegiance to her Majesty Queen Victoria, and her will defend to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against her person, crown or dignity. And I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to her Majesty and her successors all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know to be against her, or any of them. And I do faithfully promise to support, maintain and defend the succession of the crown against the descendants of the said James, and against all other persons whatsoever, which succession by an act intituled 'An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject,' is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgment, abjuration, renunciation and promise, heartily, willingly, and truly, *upon the true faith of a Christian.*

rather than the phraseology of the Act which should be regarded; a point, at all events, upon which no divergence of opinion can exist, since it is evident that its sole intention was to preclude those Roman Catholic princes from ascending the throne who enjoyed a better title to it than the House of Hanover, according to the laws of hereditary succession. It is certain that, had our legislators contemplated the possibility of failure of James the Second's issue, they would have substituted those of Charles the First. Clearly, then, as the representatives of the latter monarch, through his daughter Henrietta of Orleans, occupy the place originally filled by those of the former, an alteration might be adopted which would have the effect of rendering the oath at once consistent and intelligible. Whether it is expedient or advisable to repeal the Act altogether, is a different question; although to quibble about its phraseology when its meaning is obvious, speaks but little for the candour of those who descend to have recourse to such an argument. It proves rather that they have another and ulterior object in view, which it would be more ingenuous openly to avow. The alternatives presented are either the substitution in the Act of the descendants of Charles the First for those of James the Second, or the repeal of the Act *in toto;* and to the majority, as has been the custom from time immemorial, the minority must be content to render obedience.

Lastly, I have said that this work is a fitting tribute to those whose memory I would rescue from

oblivion. Were the crimes committed by the Stuarts of so unpardonable a dye that their very remembrance should cease from off the earth? Traduced, vilified, and misunderstood whilst living, will history continue eternally to calumniate them? Will no voice be raised in defence of those who, though not devoid of vices, had yet a preponderating balance of virtues? who, and I affirm it advisedly, will well bear a comparison, *as a dynasty*, with that of any upon record. Because the Stuarts were unsuited to the times in which they lived—because they would have made better constitutional sovereigns than despotic ones—because they possessed not that strength of mind, that *fortiter in re* sometimes so necessary—but, on the contrary, had a preponderance of what are, though perhaps not very correctly termed, amiable weaknesses, are sins to be laid to their charge of which they were wholly guiltless?

What were the crimes of the Stuarts? Read their history, commencing with Robert the Second, downwards, and what is the reply? Candidly, fairly, and without prejudice, is cruelty one of the vices which can be imputed to them? Were they brutal? Compare them with the Tudors; those merciless sovereigns who remorselessly imbrued their hands in the blood even of their nearest relatives—and what is the reply? Were they savage? The idea of a savage Stuart seems too ludicrous for utterance. Were they ignorant, unrefined, coarse, or barbarous in their ideas? The contrary is indis-

putable. As a family, they were the most highly educated, the most refined and cultivated in their tastes of any dynasty that has graced a throne. That they were vacillating, too easily governed by favourites, and had exalted notions of their own prerogative, are charges which can be established against the Stuarts—but what are these compared with those which might be preferred against their predecessors? At most they are but weaknesses, not crimes. But a last question remains—Were the Stuarts suited to the age in which they lived? And here I unhesitatingly answer in the negative. Herein lay their fault, their misfortune—herein lies the true explanation of the calumny which has so perseveringly pursued them: herein consists the crime for which no remission can be found, and for which, receiving no pardon whilst living, they have been stigmatised even after death. That the English people during the times of the first Stuarts preferred some brutal monster, regardless of delicacy of feeling, provided he displayed the outward marks of an iron-handed will, is evident; for even the atrocities of Henry the Eighth, that sanguinary tyrant who imbrued his hands in the blood of delicate and high-born females, there is no reason to suppose rendered him distasteful to his subjects. The crimes of his daughters—worthy scions of their sire—and worthy imitators of his cruelties—there are no grounds for believing detracted from their popularity. What did the Stuarts in comparison with acts

so barbarous? What more dissimilar characters could exist than Henry and his two daughters, upon the one hand, and Charles the First and his two sons, upon the other? And yet which monarchs, which dynasties, were most revered, most *appreciated* by their subjects? The truth is, that nations in semi-civilized times caress and fear a tyrant. It is only savage attributes which command their respect and admiration. They look up to those who astonish and captivate them by their daring in wickedness, who strike by terror. Who during the early ages gained the ascendancy over his tribe? Was the best, the wisest man from among them selected? On the contrary, was it not rather the boldest and most tyrannical? To him men of lesser calibre implicitly bowed, astonished, subjugated by his daring. And thus it was with the Stuarts; they failed to astonish their subjects, and their subjects consequently failed to reverence them. They vacillated, they allowed themselves partially to be governed by sentiments of equity, they condescended to argue with those whom their predecessors had commanded. Herein lay their weakness, and the cause of the misfortunes which subsequently overwhelmed them. The nation thus taught by their masters, learned to argue also, and as they considered, unanswerably: necessarily arriving at different conclusions, both parties had recourse to arms—the people triumphed, and the banishment and spoliation of the unhappy Stuarts terminated this chapter of British history. The people who

have conquered should be just and generous—they can well afford to be so—for vindictiveness and calumny ill befit the brow of a victor. The misfortunes or crimes of the Stuarts, in whichever of these lights they may be viewed, are considered as eternal reproaches to history; by the one party—the adherents of divine right—they are believed to have been unrighteously dethroned; by the other—the advocates of the sovereignty of the people—the nation is blamed for having submitted to their tyranny. The *via media* lies between these extremes; neither the Stuarts nor the nation were faultless; both had their errors, and both have expiated them. The Descendant of the former reigns over a foreign kingdom in lieu of the heritage of his forefathers; the latter have suffered the miseries attendant on disastrous and internecine warfare. The strife is ended, and we can afford impartially, not vindictively, to judge the vanquished. I have endeavoured to be unbiassed in my portraiture. Those who have viewed them only through the distorted medium handed down from generation to generation by avowed enemies will necessarily demur to my statements. They will be unable to eradicate those impressions, which, contracted in early youth, naturally follow and pursue us through life. But if with some I be more successful; if with some who calmly and dispassionately review the characters of the Stuarts as a dynasty, I seem to have spoken the truth, I shall be amply repaid for the task I have undertaken. I

shall at least have succeeded in causing those to be viewed with more favour whose crimes principally consisted in their misfortunes. The first Princes of the House of Hanover and their satellites, at all events, were not the men to calumniate those whom they had supplanted. Hear what John Heneage Jesse, the author of the "Court of England under the Stuarts," says on this point:—"Alas," he writes, after enumerating the terrible atrocities committed by that ever-memorable monster, the butcher-duke of Cumberland, "alas, it is to be feared that compassion and generosity of feeling were not the distinguishing characteristics of the last generation of the House of Hanover. The Stuarts, indeed, may have had their vices, their follies, and perhaps their crimes; but certainly no scion of that ill-fated race ever signed so inhuman an order as that for the massacre of Glencoe, or ever approved of such a frightful retribution as that which followed the suppression of the insurrection of 1745." Nor did the Stuarts, with all the licentiousness which has been lavishly imputed to them, ever disgust their subjects, on their first introduction to them, by bringing foreign mistresses in their train; whilst the lawful wife, she who should have shared in the triumphs of her lord, was detained in captivity, immured in almost solitary confinement, in order that her spouse might tranquilly enjoy the unlawful society to which he had resigned himself. George the First, who is portrayed as such a moral character—at least by

implication—by partial historians, will ill stand comparison on a scrutiny with even the immoral and profligate Charles the Second. Such is the favouritism displayed by historians, such the result of the portraiture by one rival dynasty of another!

I have been actuated in the publication of this work by no other motive than a desire to supply information hitherto unchronicled. I could wish that the compilation of it had devolved on one more practised in historical authorship than myself; but this not having been accomplished, I commit this volume with all its faults to the indulgence of the public, whose pardon I bespeak for any errors that may have inadvertently escaped revision. If I have succeeded, however imperfectly, in elucidating a neglected portion of English history, I am satisfied. I may fairly say that I have been actuated by no party motive, and I would fain hope by no party spirit. I explicitly disclaim the idea of obtruding any supposed or alleged claims of the Descendants of the Stuarts to the sovereignty of these realms. Now the British Throne is so worthily filled by one, who, as queen, wife, and mother, pre-eminently adorns her exalted station, any such disclaimer seems superfluous. That she may long, very long, be spared to rule over a contented and prosperous people is the sincere and fervent wish of

THE AUTHOR.

THE

DESCENDANTS OF THE STUARTS.

THE Excluded Members of the Royal Family of England,—Who were they? and, What of their careers? are questions that naturally suggest themselves to readers of English history, though in vain will its pages be searched for an elucidation of them. Strange and incredible as it may appear, it is nevertheless a fact, that, although Ten Members of the Royal Family were excluded the British Throne by the Revolution of 1688-9, and its natural concomitant, the Act of Succession of 1701, eight are entirely unnoticed by historians, and their existence is as completely ignored as if they had never lived. Hume, Mackintosh, Goldsmith, Hallam,* Rapin, and Keightley are alike silent respecting them; and if they are guilty of this anomaly, what can be expected from minor literati?

* Hallam notes generally the existence of such parties, but without enumerating them. He merely says, "There were several of the Palatine family," &c.

Neither if we turn to personal memoirs of the royal family,* where more precision might be expected, is the desired information to be found; for, following in the wake of our national historians, they treat only of the children of the reigning monarchs: nor are they included in the lists of the queens of England, the princesses of England, or the princes of Wales; for in none of these categories do they figure: lastly, with two exceptions, they have never formed the subject of separate biographies; so that it would almost seem as if historians with one consent had conspired to sweep their remembrance from off the earth.

Why this unchronicled page in English history has been suffered so long to remain, it is not difficult to determine; for not in our own words, but in those of Hume, would we assert, "that the long-continued tenure of power by a certain party has proved destructive of all historical truth:" we mean, that the bias given by Whig writers of the day has been unconsciously imitated by their successors, who either from complaisance to the reigning house, the force of example, or indifference, have concurred in perpetuating this anomaly. Most pertinently does Miss Strickland, corroboratory of Hume, remark on this, "that for upwards

* Even the Peerages and Baronetages, headed by genealogical pedigrees of the royal family, commonly omit all notice of the excluded princes and princesses; or if they mention them, mislead, rather than inform, by their ambiguity.

of a century after the Revolution of 1688, it was considered a test of loyalty to the reigning family, and of attachment to the Church of England, to revile the sovereigns of the House of Stuart, root and branch, and to consign them, their wives and children, their friends and servants, and all who would not unite in desecrating their tombs, to the reprobation of all posterity. Every one who attempted to write history at that period was, to use the metaphor of the witty author of 'Eothen,' subjected to the immutable law which compels a man with a pen in his hand to be uttering, now and then, some sentiment not his own, as though, like a French peasant under the old régime, he were bound to perform a certain amount of work on the public highways."* What wonder that the oft-repeated query, "Who are the descendants of the Stuarts?" should be continuously reiterated, seeing that the question has even been mooted in our senate, without receiving a satisfactory explanation.

So lately as the 9th of June, 1856, the following extraordinary quotation was made by Sir Frederick Thesiger, when speaking on his proposed amendment to the "Oath of Abjuration Bill,"—a Bill, which, nominally professing to release members of Parliament from a declaration of their allegiance to the House of Hanover, and consequent abjura-

* Agnes Strickland's "Introduction to Life of Mary Beatrice, Queen of England," vol. ix.

tion of the House of Stuart,—has, for its secret object, the promotion of the house of Rothschild.

"A book has been lately published," remarked Sir Frederick, "in Ireland, called 'Hibernia Dominica,' which contains a most remarkable passage, which passage is erased from some copies, but is to be found in others. This passage states that the heirs of Sophia, Duchess Dowager of Hanover, were placed upon the British throne as being the nearest of kin to the Stuarts, who were Protestants, but that there were fifty or more Catholic princes enjoying a nearer relationship, according to the genealogical tree, which, the writer said, he had then in his possession. "I will venture to ask," continued Sir Frederick, addressing his auditors, "whether you do not believe that a Bishop Cullen possesses that genealogical tree, and that the selection of these bulls" (referring to some he had just enumerated) "is not some of the fruit of that genealogical tree?"

We have said that this is a most extraordinary statement of Sir Frederick Thesiger's, for if it does not question, which seems doubtful, the existence of the princes who claimed a nearer relationship to the Crown than the House of Hanover at the Revolution; it implies that their names are unknown, and only to be found in some genealogical tree, hidden in some remote corner of some Bishop Cullen's residence. What renders this statement the more extraordinary is, that Sir Frederick had previously

informed his hearers that "the title of her Majesty to the throne depended upon the Protestant character of her ancestors and the Act of Settlement, and that if it depended simply upon a mere hereditary right, a certain Roman Catholic Sovereign would be at this moment, *de jure*, King of these Realms:"* which assertion is corroborated by Blackstone, who says, "The new settlement of the crown, enacted at the Revolution, did not merely consist in excluding King James II. and the person pretended to be Prince of Wales, and then suffering the crown to descend in the old hereditary channel, but it broke through in some instances the usual course of descent, though it still kept it in view, and paid a great" (by the selection of the Princess Sophia, the nearest Protestant Stuart) "though not total" (by the exclusion of the Catholic Stuarts who stood nearer the throne than the former) "regard to it."† It is therefore evident that Sir Frederick, unless he spoke at random, must himself have had some knowledge of this hidden genealogical tree, or had congruous sources of information; for if not, we ask, how could he have known that a certain Roman Catholic Sovereign was, according to the doctrines of hereditary right, *de jure*, King of these realms? Why this mystery should be so pertinaciously affected, it is difficult to determine; but when even

* Morning Herald, June 10, 1856. Report of speech of Sir Frederick Thesiger.

† Blackstone, ch. 3, p. 214. Of the King and his Title.

in the highest chamber of the realm the existence of the excluded princes is questioned and denied, it seems high time some valid information was furnished relating to them, in order that the ridiculous mystery which has prevailed may once for all be satisfactorily cleared up.

The Royal Family of England at the epoch our narrative commences with, *i.e.* at the Revolution of 1688-9, was divided into two, and two only, separate families or dynasties. Of these the *Ligne aînée*, to whom strictly speaking the title of "the royal family" was restricted, enumerated the reigning monarch, and the other descendants of King Charles I.; whilst the *Branche cadette* comprised the descendants of that monarch's sister, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. The sole representation of the House of Stuart concentred in these dynasties, who alone remained of that once numerous family; and had they failed of issue, Parliament must have gone back for an heir to the crown to times as far antecedent as those of Henry VIII., even to the descendants of that monarch's younger sister Mary, the grandmother of Lady Jane Grey. The members of the royal family were at the Revolution of 1689 of the *Ligne aînée*, besides King James II. and his consort Mary Beatrice of Modena, that monarch's four children.

1. James, Prince of Wales, b. 1688 (a Roman Catholic).

2. Mary, Princess of Orange (Queen Mary II.) b. 1662 (a Protestant).
3. Anne, Princess of Denmark (Queen Anne) b. 1664 (a Protestant).
4. The Princess Louisa, b. 1692 (a Roman Catholic).

And King James's nephew and niece.

5. William, Prince of Orange (King William III.) b. 1650 (a Protestant).
6. Anne, Queen of Sardinia, b. 1669 (a Roman Catholic).

The members of the royal family of the *Branche cadette* were:—

1. Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans, b. 1652 (embraced Romanism 1671).
2. Louis, Prince of Salms, b. 1674 (a Roman Catholic).
3. The Lady Louisa of Salms, b. 1674 (a Roman Catholic).
4. The Lady Eleanora of Salms, b. 1678 (a Roman Catholic).
5. Anne, Princess of Condé, b. 1648 (a Roman Catholic).
6. Benedicta, Duchess of Hanover, b. 1652 (a Roman Catholic).
7. The Princess Palatine Louisa, b. 1622 (embraced Romanism 1659).
8. Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, b. 1630 (a Protestant).

Of these princes and princesses four may be said to have reigned as English sovereigns, though as the last named, Sophia, died two months before Queen Anne, she did not actually ascend the throne. Their right was what might be termed that of donation or purchase, as contradistinguished from that of hereditary descent, for as King William occupied the throne before Queen Anne, it is clear it could not have been the latter.* The remaining princes and princesses enumerated were the excluded members of the royal family, whose very names have been unregistered by historians.

They stood thus :—

Stuarts :—

1. James, Prince of Wales.
2. The Princess Louisa.
3. Anne, Queen of Sardinia, in whom the representation of the House of Stuart eventually vested.

Stuart Simmerens :—

4. Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans.
5. Louis, Prince of Salms.
6. Louisa, Princess of Salms.
7. Eleanora, Princess of Salms.
8. Anne, Princess of Condé.
9. Benedicta, Duchess of Hanover.
10. The Princess Palatine Louisa.

With the exception of the Prince of Wales (better

* Blackstone on the King and his Title.

known as the Chevalier de St. George, or Old Pretender), all these princes and princesses were aliens, and strangers to their native country, although the daughters, cousins, and grandchildren of its kings; and in this respect on a par with William III. and George I., the one a Dutch and the other a German prince. That their very existence has been completely ignored by historians a glance at our national records will soon make apparent, for in any history of England that has heretofore been penned the information relating to the royal family is limited to this: that King James II. was dethroned, and his son, the innocent Prince of Wales, first on the plea of supposititiousness, and when that was abandoned, on that of religion, excluded the throne; that William, Mary, and Anne usurped or succeeded to the vacated dignity, and were on their death succeeded by George I. the next Protestant heir (son of the Electress Sophia), who ascended the throne "pursuant to the Act of Succession." That this Act was passed, 1701, on the death of Queen Anne's son, the Duke of Gloucester; and that the Duchess of Savoy,* daughter of Henrietta of Orleans, who was daughter of Charles I., protested against it as detrimental to her prospective rights, but that her claims were unheeded. Some writers add that George I.'s

* This princess, in 1712, assumed the title of Queen of Sicily, which she exchanged in 1718 for that of Sardinia. We have (in consonance with the general practice of historians) always designated her by the latter title; and the rather as it is the one which has ever since been retained by her descendants.

mother, the Electress Sophia, was the youngest of thirteen children, without any notice of the elder princes, who in the natural course of events would take precedence of their juniors.

This is a fair *resumé* of what may be gathered from our national records; but lest a doubt should remain on the subject in the mind of any reader, we will quote the testimony of our leading historians, commencing with Hume, *par excellence*, England's historian, and including that of Mackintosh, Goldsmith, Rapin, and Keightley. Macaulay's and Lingard's histories do not reach this period; whilst Lord Mahon's narrative, the most impartial and original that has yet been written, commences at the Peace of Utrecht, some twenty years afterwards.

Hume, after noting the death of the Duke of Gloucester, which occurred 29th July, 1700, thus writes:—"The Jacobites openly exulted in an event which they imagined would remove the chief bar to the interest of the Prince of Wales; but the Protestants generally turned their eyes upon the Princess Sophia, Electress-Dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I. (not a word spoken, be it observed, of the other members of the royal family, who stood betwixt the Prince of Wales and the Duchess of Hanover). The King William III., in his speech to the Commons, who met 10th February, 1701, noted that the nation's loss in the death of the Duke of Gloucester rendered it absolutely necessary for them to make further provision for the

crown in the Protestant line; when they, taking this into consideration, resolved, that for the preservation of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the security of the Protestant religion, it was absolutely necessary that a further declaration should be made of the limitation and succession of the crown in the Protestant line, after his majesty (King William III.) and the princess (Queen Anne) and the heirs of their bodies respectively; and that the Princess Sophia, Duchess-Dowager of Hanover, should be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, in the Protestant line, after his majesty and the princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively, and that the further limitation of the crown be to the said Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body being Protestants."* This enactment was opposed by the Marquis of Normanby, and protested against by four lay lords, viz. Huntingdon, Plymouth, Guildford, and Jeffries: eight of the spiritual peers who would have joined in the opposition having previously been deprived of their sees.† Hume goes on to say, "The Act of Succession gave umbrage to all the popish princes more

* Smollett's Continuation of Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 401.

† The eight spiritual peers who were deprived of their sees, on refusing to take the oaths to William and Mary, were: Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Lake, Bishop of Chichester; Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich; Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester; Thomas, Bishop of Worcester; Turner, Bishop of Ely; and White, Bishop of Peterborough. Only two of the bishops, Compton of London, (who had been suspended by King James,) and Burnet, who was advanced by William himself, cordially supported the Government.

nearly related to the crown than this lady whom the Parliament had preferred to all others. The Duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of King Charles I., by her mother, ordered her ambassador, Count Maffei, to make a solemn protestation to the Parliament of England, in her name, against any resolutions and decisions contrary to her title as sole daughter of the Princess Henrietta, next in succession to the crown of England after King William and the Princess Anne of Denmark. Two copies of this protest Maffei sent in letters to the Lord Keeper and the Speaker of the Lower House, by two of his gentlemen, and a public notary to attest the delivery, but no notice was taken of the declaration."*

Sir James Mackintosh is more explicit in his statements than Hume, and is, in fact, the only writer who pretends to give the motives wich influenced the Houses of Parliament in enacting the Act of Settlement. His relation, which, we may premise, rests solely on the authority of Burnet, that unscrupulous Whig partizan, is as follows: "The most important act of the session of 1701," he writes, "passed under curious or rather whimsical circumstances, if credit may be given to the History of Bishop Burnet.† It was the Act of Set-

* Smollett's Continuation of Hume's History of England, vol. i. p. 401.

† Burnet's words are: "The manner in which the motion of the passing of the Act of Succession, which had been strongly recommended by King William at the opening of the session, was managed, bore little marks of sincerity with it; it was often put off from day to day, and gave place to the most trifling matters. After a great deal of time had

tlement, vesting the succession to the crown in the House of Brunswick, being Protestant. Sir John Bowles, reputed a madman in the House, was chosen by the Tories to launch the name of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, in order to bring ridicule on the Hanoverian succession; the mover was, as a matter of courtesy or course, chairman of the committee; and the House no sooner resolved itself into a committee, than the members ran out with such indecent haste, that the contrivers blushed for

been wasted in preliminaries, when it came to the nomination of the mover, Sir John Bowles, who was then disordered in his senses and soon after quite lost them, was set on by the" (Tory, then ministerial) "party to be the first to name the Electress-Dowager of Brunswick, which seemed done to make it less serious, when moved by such a person; he was, by the forms of the house, put in the chair of the committee, to whom the bill was committed. The thing was still put off for many weeks; at every time that it was called for, the motion was entertained with coldness, which served to heighten the jealousy: the committee once or twice sat upon it, but all the members ran out of the house with so much indecency, that the contrivers seemed ashamed of this management. There were seldom fifty or sixty at the committee, yet, in conclusion, it passed, and was sent up to the Lords, where it was expected great opposition would be made to it. Some imagined the Act was only an artifice, designed to gain credit to those who at this time were so ill thought of by the nation, that they wanted something colourable to excuse their other proceedings. Many of the Lords absented themselves on design. Some little opposition was made by the Marquis of Normanby; and four lords, the Earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the Lords Guildford and Jeffries, protested against it. We reckoned it a great point carried, that we had now a law on our side for a Protestant successor; for we saw plainly a great party formed against it, in favour of the pretended Prince of Wales. Many who called themselves Protestants seemed fond of such a successor: a degree of infatuation that justly amazed all who observed it, and saw the fury with which it was promoted."—*Vide* Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. iii. pp. 299, 300.

the management." "There were," he says, "seldom fifty or sixty present." "If such was the case," continues Sir James (and, be it remembered, it is the statement of a Whig partizan), "the Whigs must have been as indifferent about the succession of the House of Brunswick as the Tories. But the Whigs, who were disgusted with King William, could hardly contemplate with pleasure the succession of a petty German prince, disqualified by his foreign habits and matured incapacity for governing on a great scale a free nation like the English. The jesting proposal of the Duke of Devonshire to place the crown on the head of long Tom (the Earl of Pembroke), proves that at least one leading Whig, and perhaps the most eminent and estimable of his party, accepted the Act of Settlement with distaste. It is related by Coke in his Detection, that on one of the masters in Chancery being sent down with the Bill to the Commons, they interrogated him as to what amendments the Lords had made in it, and on being answered by him 'None at all,' several of the members said aloud, 'The Devil take you and your Bill!' The Duchess of Savoy also, granddaughter of Charles I., protested very idly against this Bill as an invasion of her hereditary right." *

Rapin de Thoyras, although a contemporary, and more voluminous historian than even Mackintosh, is curter still in his relation of this piece of parlia-

* Sir James Mackintosh's History of England, vol. ix. pp. 129—132.

mentary legislation. He says, "On the death of the Duke of Gloucester, the eyes of the nation were turned to Sophia, Electress-Dowager of Hanover, youngest daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, and grand-daughter of King James I. This princess immediately repaired to the Hague, to confer with the king on the measures necessary for the present security and eventual establishment of the Protestant succession. The king when the House of Commons met, recommended a further provision for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, on which they unanimously resolved, after making further provision for the rights and securities of the people, 'that the Princess Sophia, Duchess-Dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the crown of England;' and a Bill was immediately introduced in conformity to these resolutions, and numerous restrictions and limitations imposed upon the future inheritor of the crown. The Bill passed with national applause, but it had to encounter an opposition of a singular nature, originating in a remote (?) quarter.* Anne of Orleans, Duchess of Savoy of the Blood Royal of England, by Henrietta her mother, youngest daughter of Charles I., according to the law of hereditary succession, was heiress of the crown of England on the exclusion of James and his posterity. The am-

* Instead of being remote, it was the nighest quarter possible. Rapin himself admits this in the ensuing passage, so strangely does this historian contradict himself!

bassador of Savoy delivered a paper to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in which his mistress declared that she gladly embraced the occasion which offered to display to the people of England the pride she took in the right she derived from her descent to that august throne; and after stating her incontestable pretensions, she concluded with protesting against every deliberation and decision 'which shall be contrary thereto.' This protest was, however, deemed too insignificant for notice." * In a note towards the end of the reign of George III., Rapin adds:—"It is well known to every reader of English history, that towards the end of the reign of William III., upon the impending extinction of the Protestant posterity of Charles I., it became necessary to have recourse to the descendants of James I., the father of that prince. The throne upon the accession of King William being limited to Protestants, the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-Dowager of Hanover, was fixed on as the root of a royal stock. She was the youngest daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, who was the daughter of James I., and the nearest of the ancient blood royal, who was not incapacitated by professing the Popish religion. On her therefore and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, the remainder of the crown expectant on the death of King William III. and Queen Anne with-

* Rapin de Thoyras's History of England.

out issue, was settled by 12th & 13th William III. She is the common ancestor through whom alone the crown of Great Britain can descend. The Princess Sophia dying before Queen Anne, the inheritance thus descended to her son and heir, King George I."

But the total omission of all notice of the royal family, and of the passing of the Act of Succession, is reserved for Goldsmith! Will it be credited that this writer's first mention, even incidentally, of the House of Hanover, is conveyed in a passing allusion to the union of England and Scotland? Speaking on which he casually remarks, "that this treaty stipulated that the succession to the United Kingdoms should be vested in the House of Hanover,"* he having previously omitted mentioning who the princes of the House of Hanover were, or why they were called to the throne, or in fact anything concerning them. The startling and ridiculous anomaly is thus presented of the House of Hanover being brought suddenly on the tapis, in connexion with the royal family of England, without any explanation as to how that connexion originated; for it must be remembered there is no mention made in history of the marriage which allied them to the British crown,—we allude to that of the Princess Sophia with Ernest Augustus, Duke of Hanover, which engrafted the princes of the Guelph dynasty on our old royal stem.

* Goldsmith's History of England, vol. iii. p. 214.

Keightley, as an historian, is more explicit than Goldsmith; he, after narrating the death of the Duke of Gloucester, thus writes:—"The next heir to the crown was the Duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, youngest child of Charles I.; but her religion excluding her, the nearest Protestant to the throne was Sophia, Dowager Electress of Hanover, daughter of the queen of Bohemia, the sister of that monarch. In the speech from the throne the subject was pressed on the attention of Parliament, and no time was lost in preparing a Bill for that purpose. The Act of Settlement, which was now passed, limited the succession of the crown to the Princess Sophia,and the heirs of her body being Protestants."*

The only mention we have found as to who first prompted the bestowal of the crown on the Electress Sophia of Hanover, is contained in an old work, published so far back as 1720, entitled a "History of the Ducal House of Hanover."† It is there stated, with what truth we will not vouch, that it was Burnet who first entertained the idea. The writer goes on to say that that prelate, being on a visit to the Elector of Hanover, and finding him disposed to espouse the side of France in preference to that of England, in the war then impending (this was towards the middle of the reign of William III.), held out as a bait to him the possible reversion of the crown of England. He pointed

* Keightley's History of England, vol. ii. p. 425.

† It is dedicated to George I.

out to him the thinness of the English royal family, William III. and Queen Anne, the only Protestant members of it, being childless; that all the intermediate princes and princesses next in succession were Roman Catholics, and the facility with which Parliament, passing them over on that score, might be induced to remit the crown to him and his descendants. George, it is said, was convinced by these arguments, espoused the party of Great Britain, and as a necessary result became its future sovereign.

This statement seems to receive further corroboration from Burnet himself, who says that at the Revolution, when the succession was declared to be vested in the issue of Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King William; that the latter proposed to him that Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, should be declared the next in succession after them, and that he (Burnet) should undertake to moot the question to the House, "because he had already set it on foot, and the Duke of Hanover had now other thoughts of the matter" (evidently implying that it had been previously hinted to him), "and was separating himself from the interests of France."*

The writer of the "History of the Ducal House of Hanover," as also Burnet and Halliday,† state

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 16.

† Halliday's "History of the House of Guelph, or Royal Family of Great Britain." The statements contained in this work would be supposed to carry weight with them, from the fact that the writer accompanied his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, afterwards King

that the excluded members of the royal family were, at the accession of George I., forty in number; a computation, which although approximating to, is not strictly exact, as Macpherson's "Hanover Papers" more correctly estimate them at fifty-seven.*

We have now quoted the various accounts of the passing of the Act of Succession as related by

William IV. to Hanover, purposely to make explorations concerning the history and genealogy of the royal house. It is, moreover, dedicated to George IV. That the genealogical pedigrees in it are often most incorrect, is, however, undeniable. We shall afterwards call attention to a few of these inaccuracies.

* They were fifty-three in number; viz., the Prince of Wales; Anne, Queen of Sardinia; Victor Philip, Prince of Piedmont; Charles Emanuel III., King of Sardinia; Louis XV., King of France; Louis I., King of Spain; and Ferdinand VI., King of Spain. These seven were Stuarts. The remainder, who were Stuart-Simmerens, were—Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans; Philip, the Regent Duke of Orleans; Louis I., Duke of Orleans; Mary Louisa, Duchess of Berri; Adelaide of Orleans, Abbess of Chelles; Charlotte, Duchess of Modena; Louisa, Queen of Spain; Philippa of Orleans; Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Lorraine; Francis, Emperor of Germany; Prince Charles of Lorraine; Elizabeth, Queen of Sardinia; Charlotte of Lorraine, Abbess of Remiremont; Louis, Prince of Salms; Dorothy, Rhinegravine; Elizabeth, Princess of Ligne; Christina of Salms; Eleanor of Salms; Anne, Princess of Condé; Louis IV., Prince of Condé; Charles, Count of Charollois; Louis, Count of Clermont; Mary of Condé, Abbess of St. Anthony des Champs; Louis Anne of Condé; Louisa, Princess of Conti; Mary Ann of Condé; Henrietta of Condé, Abbess of Beaumont; Elizabeth of Condé; Mary Theresa, Princess of Conti; Louis Armand, Prince of Conti; Mary, Princess of Condé; Louisa of Conti; Louisa, Duchess of Maine; Louis, Prince of Dombes; Charles, Count of Eu; Louisa of Maine; Mary Anne, Duchess of Vendôme; Benedicta, Duchess of Hanover; Francis, Duke of Modena; Prince John of Modena; Benedicta of Modena; Amelia of Modena; Henrietta, Duchess of Parma; Wilhelmina, Empress of Germany; Josephine, Queen of Poland; and Amelia, Empress of Germany.

our leading historians, and could crowd our pages with the testimony of many others were it requisite; this, however, would be both tedious and superfluous, since it is evident they would be mere repetitions of what we have already advanced; enough has been adduced to establish our proposition that the Excluded Members of the Royal Family were wholly ignored in the transaction, and they and their posterity consigned to oblivion. In fact, the details that are furnished, relating solely to the passing of the Act, are so meagre and contradictory, —some contending it was passed for the express purpose of settling the crown on the House of Hanover, others, and more correctly, that it was only to confirm a prior right established at the Revolution,—that were it not for the narrative of Burnet we should have great difficulty in reconciling these discrepancies. From him we learn that the task of proposing the Princess Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, as the next in succession to the English crown after Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King William, was committed to him by the latter during the session of 1689, as above narrated. On his making this motion, "the Lords," he says, "at once agreed to it, but the Commons refused to concur with them, alleging that as there were many nearer the crown in lineal succession (than the Princess Sophia), who were Roman Catholics, it would be only fair towards them if Parliament refrained from personally naming the next heir to

the throne after King William, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne, in order that the opportunity might be afforded them of renouncing the Popish faith, which constituted their bar of exclusion. These arguments, supported by the Tories and Republicans, were regarded as so conclusive, that Burnet's motion was rejected; and the resolutions passed merely enacted that "the crown should descend only to Protestants," thus virtually, though not explicitly, placing the Princess Sophia next in succession.* Thus matters stood until the death of the Duke of Gloucester, when the Electress Sophia was formally declared heiress to the throne, none of the intermediate princes having chosen in the interim to renounce the Popish faith. This relation, which appears to be a moderately correct one, of the events of this momentous epoch, accounts for the varying statements of historians, as it was the Act of Succession which settled the crown on the House of Hanover, though their right to it was established at the Revolution; and thus are the seeming discrepancies of historians solved.

Before entering, however, into particulars relative to the excluded members of the royal family, it is necessary to give some brief account of the illustrious house from which they sprang, and the rather as

* Macaulay says this relation of Burnet's is "grossly inaccurate," and that though his motion passed the Lords, it was rejected by the Commons, *nemine contradicente*.—Vide *Macaulay's and Hallam's Histories of England*.

historians, to serve party purposes, have not hesitated in misstating and falsifying their pedigree—in the hope, we can but suppose, of confusing in the reader's mind the difference betwixt the lineal representative and a lineal representative of a monarch, than which nothing can be more diverse. An instance will suffice to illustrate this: thus, for example, the present Duke of Modena is the representative of James I., though any of the other European sovereigns can challenge the title of a representative of that monarch, and deduce an unbroken descent from him. This distinction should always be borne in mind, or much confusion will be engendered. We are sorry at being compelled to add, that this is what some writers seem as if they sought to create, to the utter destruction of historical truth. Thus Halliday, not content with omitting all notice of the excluded princes and princesses, falls into the error of asserting that "the House of Hanover is the representative of Egbert, our first Saxon king, and that they have, even according to the rules of hereditary right, a better title to the crown than the descendants of Anne of Sardinia, though the Act, of Succession had never existed!" the very Act as all historians record, by virtue of which they ascended the throne! The assumption, that in the House of Hanover is concentred the representation of Egbert, though that of William the Conqueror is "perhaps" vested in the Duke of Modena, is a gross fallacy, for the Duke of Modena not

only represents William the Conqueror, but he concentres in himself the lineal descent of that monarch and Egbert.* His descent, which is that of the House of Stuart, being thus deduced :—

Egbert, first King of England, d. 836.
|
Ethelwolf, d. 838.
|
Alfred, d. 901.
|
Edward I., d. 925.
|
Edmund I., d. 946.
|
Edgar, d. 975.
|
Ethelred, II., d. 1016.
|
Edmund II., d. 1016.
|
Edward (never reigned), d. 1057.†
|
Margaret (sister of Edgar Atheling), m. Malcolm III., King of Scotland, by whom she had issue David I., King of Scotland, ancestor of the Scottish or senior line (in whom the representation of Egbert continues), and

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* Hallam confirms this statement when he writes:—"The House of Hanover derive not their right to the throne from the ancient families of the Plantagenets and the Tudors. The blood, indeed, of Cerdic and the Conqueror flows in the veins of her present Majesty. Our Edwards and Henrys illustrate the almost unrivalled splendour and antiquity of the House of Brunswick. But they have transmitted no more right to the allegiance of England than Boniface of Este or Henry the Lion. That rests wholly on the Act of Settement, and resolves itself into the sovereignty of the legislature."—*Hallam*, vol. iii. p. 245.

† Prince Edward, though undoubted heir to the throne, never reigned as king of England. The ascendancy of the Danish dynasty on the death of his father Edmund II. became so complete, that Prince Edward, then of tender years, was banished by Canute to Hungary. On the restoration of the Saxon dynasty, in the person of Edward the Confessor, it was this Edward, generally styled the Outlaw, who should have occupied his uncle's place, but he being far distant, in Hungary, and his uncle close at hand (in Normandy), that prince was selected. After he was seated on the throne, he sent a summons to his nephew to

Matilda, wife of Henry I., King of England, progenitress of the English or junior line (representing William the Conqueror), which branches, after an interval of four hundred years, were reunited by the marriage of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., King of England, to James IV., King of Scotland: therefore, in their lineal descendant must remain the representation of Egbert and William the Conqueror. It is thus apparent that the ancient Saxon dynasty, banished by William the Conqueror, regained its position by the accession of James I., who was the lineal representative of both monarchs.

The descent of the Scottish Senior Branch :—	*The descent of the English Junior Branch :—*
David I., King of Scotland, d. 1153.	Matilda, wife of Henry I., King of England, d. 1118.
Henry, d. 1152.	The Empress Matilda, d. 1167.
David, Earl of Huntingdon, d. 1219.	Henry II., King of England, d. 1189.
Isabella, Countess of Carrick, d. 1267.*	John, d. 1216.

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join him in England, intending to adopt him as his heir, which he was only prevented doing by the premature death of Prince Edward, who deceased immediately after his arrival in London, A.D. 1057. He left issue a son Edgar, surnamed the Atheling, and two daughters, Margaret and Christina. Prince Edgar, thus become his father's heir, made no attempt to enforce his rights, and, strange to say, lived on the most amicable terms with his formidable supplanters Williams I. and II. He died succession perishing, on which his sister Margaret, wife of Malcolm III., King of Scotland, became his heiress, as narrated.

* Isabella, Countess of Carrick, is always considered the heiress and representative of David, Earl of Huntingdon, though that prince's second daughter; the reason being that the descendants of Margaret, her elder sister, voluntarily renounced the rights conferred on them by their birth. It was this David, Earl of Huntingdon, who was the father of the three ladies whose sons disputed the Scottish throne with such pertinacity on the death of the Maid of Norway. Their disputes, which entailed such miseries on their unfortunate country, originated thus:— David, Earl of Huntingdon, dying 1219, left issue (besides three sons and a daughter who died s. p.) three daughters, to wit:—

1. Margaret, married to Allan, Lord of Galloway.

2. Isabella,

Robert Bruce, the competitor, Earl of Carrick, d. 1295.

Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, d. 1303.

Robert I., King of Scotland, d. 1329.

Marjory, d. 1316.

Robert II., King of Scotland, d. 1390.

Robert III., d. 1406.

James I., d. 1438.

James II., d. 1460.

James III., d. 1488.

Henry III., d. 1272.

Edward I., d. 1307.

Edward II., d. 1327.

Edward III., d. 1377.

Lionel, Duke of Clarence, d. 1368.

Phillipa, Countess of March.

Roger, Earl of March, d. 1398.

Anne, Countess of Cambridge.

Richard, Duke of York, d. 1460.

Edward IV., King of England, d. 1482.

Elizabeth (wife of Henry VII.), d. 1502.

James IV. married Margaret (elder daughter of Henry VII).

Issue.

James V., King of Scotland, d. 1542.

Mary, Queen of Scots, d. 1587.

James I., King of Great Britain, d. 1625.

This is the lineal descent of the Royal Family from Egbert and William the Conqueror to James I.

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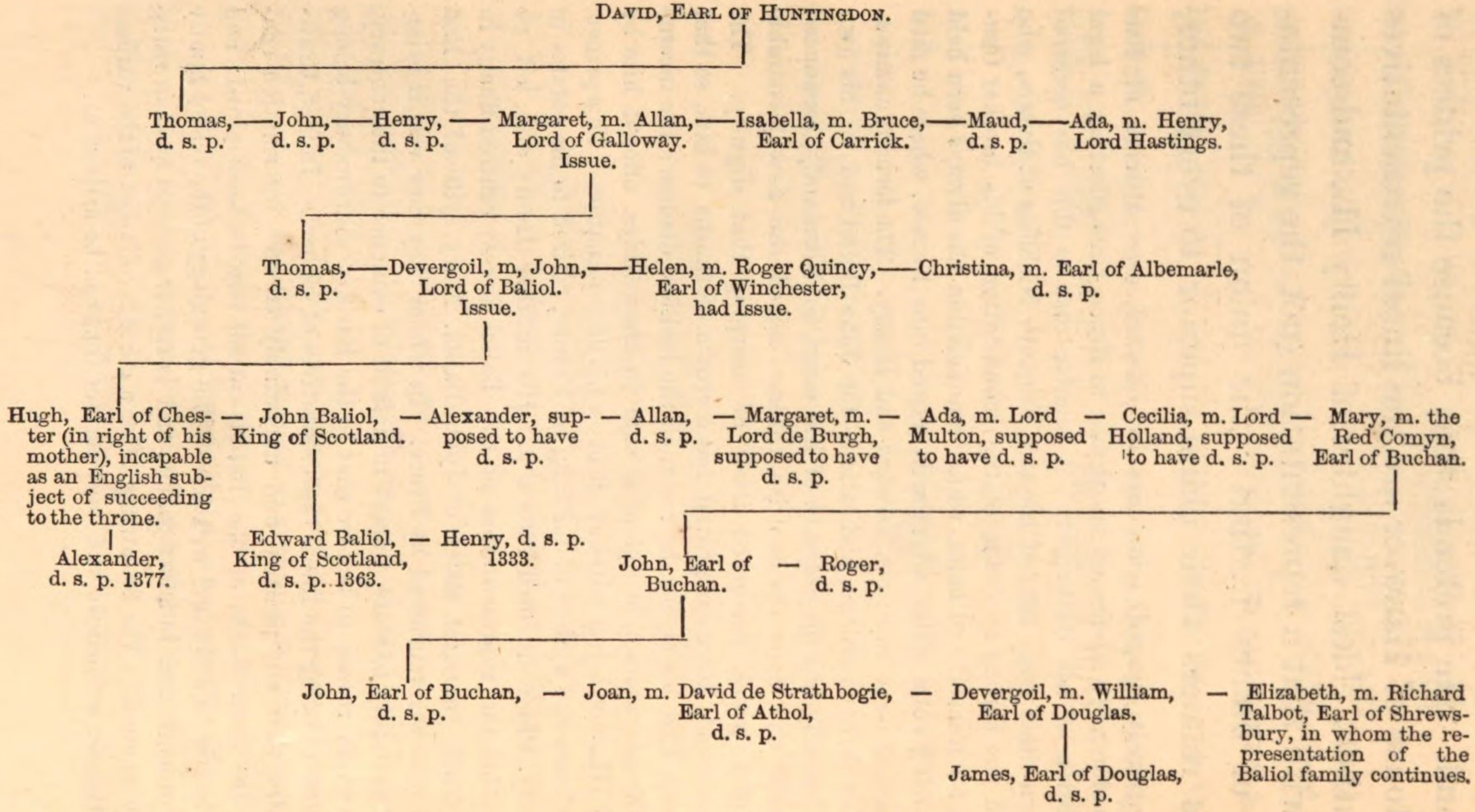
2. Isabella, married to Bruce, Earl of Carrick, in whom the representation of the royal family, consequent on the resignation of Margaret's descendants, continued.

3. Ada, married to Henry, Lord Hastings, who all laid pretensions to the Scottish crown. Margaret, the eldest daughter, had issue by Allan, Lord of Galloway, the celebrated Devergoil, mother of John Baliol, King of Scots. She died 1290, when her indubitable pretensions vested in her son John, who submitting them to the arbitration of Edward I., King of England, in opposition to his cousin Bruce, Earl of Carrick, received the award of that monarch in his favour. But this king, indignant at

It will hardly be credited that Halliday, in tracing the pedigree of the House of Brunswick, endeavours to confound it with that of the then royal family of England. He pretends that because the princes of the House of Hanover are the lineal representatives of Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry II., and combine with that a representation (not the representation) of James I., that "the union of these two bloods renders their claim superior to every other,

the contumely heaped upon him by Edward, after a reign of four years, voluntarily abdicated his throne to Bruce, thus effecting a legal renunciation of his birthright. A similar case to this has occurred in modern times, viz., that of the late Emperor Nicholas of Russia, who ascended the throne in virtue of the renunciation of his brother Constantine for himself and heirs, which renunciation has always been held valid. King John Baliol afterwards retired into France, where he died 1314, leaving issue two sons, Edward and Henry. The former, unmindful of his father's solemn abdication—for John Baliol had, of his own accord, formally and in presence of his court, in Normandy, renounced for himself and heirs the Scottish throne—seized the first favourable opportunity which presented itself of usurping that dignity. The coveted coronet, however, proved but a crown of thorns to him, so that ultimately, like his father, he resigned the luckless diadem; the income of £2,000 per annum, a splendid sum in those days, offered him by Edward III., not being without effect on his determination. This prince, who had married a niece of the king of France, retired to his estates in Normandy, where he died 1363 s. p. His brother Henry also left no issue, so that the representation of the Baliol family centred finally in the (reputed) youngest sister of John Baliol, Mary, wife of the Red Comyn, who was murdered by Bruce. In whom they now vest it is impossible certainly to state, though in default of evidence to the contrary, there is every reason to believe that to the Earls of Shrewsbury belong the honour of being the lineal representatives of Egbert. In fact, Crawford states, that any positive and undeniably correct information concerning the descendants of the Baliols cannot now be ascertained; and Burke, in his "Patrician," writes:—"The genealogy of the Baliol family is most obscure and indeterminable, and is rather guessed at than satisfactorily known." The following, after a careful collation of the various authorities, is, we believe, the most correct that can be arrived at.

though the Act of Succession had never existed;" as if a descent from a daughter of a king, and that one so



See "Vetusta Monumenta." Crawford's "Nobles," and Sir David Dalrymple's Histories of Scotland; Burke's "Patrician;" Anderson's, Beetham's, and Sandford's Genealogies, &c.

remote as Henry II., could possibly confer any lineal title to the crown. If it were so indeed, and the true succession vested in Matilda, she, in preference to her brothers, Kings Richard and John, would have been the lawful inheritrix of the crown of England. Such reasoning is simply ridiculous, and Halliday should have been aware, that were it adopted, any sovereign in Europe could put in better pretensions on such a score. We should not have noted this inaccuracy, which may seem irrelevant to our subject, were it not that Halliday leads his readers to suppose, at least by implication, that his pedigree of the royal family contains the lineal descent, for he says he "considers it not the least interesting part of the work, as the descent is direct and regular, without doubt or interruption;" and there is nothing wonderful in this, or deserving of particular attention, were it not the lineal descent, as a lineal descent might be pleaded in favour of any reigning European prince. "Our illustrious Queen's right," as Miss Strickland truly observes, "is founded on the soundest principles, both of constitutional freedom of choice in the people, and legitimate descent from the ancient monarchs of the realm." It was conferred by the unsolicited suffrages of our ancestors on her Majesty's progenitress, the Princess Sophia, because she was the one, and the only one, of the royal family who remained true to the faith of her fathers, to that pure Protestant faith, which, ever since the Reformation, has through good report and

evil report, been consistently held by the majority of Britons; and which that princess's uncle, King Charles I., shed his blood on the scaffold to maintain. How sad it is to reflect that the sons of such a father should have proved so unworthy of their sire! "It hath been found," enacted Parliament in 1689, "that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince;" and this maxim, undoubtedly a correct one, constitutes her Majesty's right, for she is the lineal descendant of both Egbert and William the Conqueror, professing the Protestant faith, and as Blackstone writes, "the title to the crown is hereditary, though not quite so absolutely hereditary as formerly, for formerly the descent was absolute, now the inheritance is conditional, being limited only to those who are Protestant members of the Church of England, and are married to none but Protestants."* It was this latter clause which affected the title of George IV., on the supposition of his being married to Mrs. Fitzherbert, and gave his friends the opportunity of stating, that he was, and yet was not, married to her, for since it was forbidden the heir to the throne to espouse a papist, it followed, as he was that heir, he could not have legally married her: the inverse proposition was, though of course courtly etiquette forbade its utterance, that, inasmuch as he was married to a papist he was no longer heir to the crown!

* Blackstone on the King and his title.

Having thus shown her Majesty's indisputable title to the crown, and the true grounds on which it is founded, and rectified the errors which through a false servility or partiality have crept into the pedigree of the House of Stuart,* we proceed with our

* Perhaps the grossest example of Halliday's inaccuracy is conveyed in the following absurd statement. He says, speaking of the descent of Otho, the Infant, one of the Dukes of Brunswick, that "had he been a Scotsman, his claim to that throne would have been as good as either Bruce's or Baliol's." To show the fallacy of this assertion, a parallel statement would be to say, that any descendants of the younger children of her present Majesty would have as good a title to the crown as the Prince of Wales and his descendants, provided only they were Englishmen. Nay, according to this theory, nearly all the nobility might bring forward some antiquated claim, if all the proof required of their right were to consist in an uninterrupted descent from an English sovereign. That Otho's relationship to the Scottish throne was merely on this footing will be seen from the following table. Malcolm III., King of Scotland, married Margaret, sister and heiress of Edgar Atheling, who was the representative of Egbert, and had issue

David I., King of Scotland,	Matilda, wife of Henry I., King of England,
Henry, Prince of Scotland,	The Empress Matilda.
David, Earl of Huntingdon,	Henry II., King of England.
Isabella, Countess of Carrick,	Matilda, Duchess of Saxony.
Robert Bruce, the Competitor,	William, Duke of Saxony.
Robert Bruce,	Otho, the Infant, Duke of Saxony.
Robert (Bruce) I., King of Scotland.	

Thus it will be seen that, independently of Otho's descending from a younger scion of the house, he was not, even as Halliday asserts, in the same degree, "sixth in descent" from Malcolm; so much for the dependence to be placed on the genealogical deductions of this historian. One very common error with many writers is the assertion that Matilda, wife of Henry I., King of England, was her father's heiress, to the prejudice of her brother, David I., King of Scotland.

That

narrative at the period it has brought us down to; that is, to the times of King James I., who was the father of Charles I., England's sainted martyr king, at mention of whose name, whose heart does not beat with emotion? Who has not vividly and corporeally brought before him the lineaments of that noble and sorrowful countenance, as handed down in the immortal productions of Vandyke? What a proud and dignified expression is there in the glance of that eagle eye; yet, withal, so sad and mournful, as if might be read in his very looks the solemn martyrdom that awaited him! But to those who have no sympathy for the hapless monarch, who, far from commiserating him, consider him only to have suffered the just penalty of his political offences, we would say a few words expiatory of his public career. That Charles I. was a good man, husband, father, and friend, is admitted by all; though that he was not a good king is equally true, for he was not harsh enough or brutal enough for the times in which he lived,—we mean, if he would have retained intact the authority God had given him, and the privileges handed down to him by his predecessors. Dare any of the most bigoted con-

That this statement was propagated during her lifetime is undoubtedly true; for it was done with the avowed and perhaps laudable object of inducing in the English nation the belief that she was the heiress of Edgar Atheling, whose children would, of course, represent the old beloved Saxon dynasty. And so the delusion, perpetuated, not unwisely at the time, for the law of succession was not then so accurately defined as it is now, has been propagated by succeeding historians, certainly, not creditably to their discriminative accuracy.

temners of the House of Stuart allege that Charles encroached on our liberties, as handed down to him by Henry VIII., Mary I., and Elizabeth? they cannot, for we had none left to encroach upon. The truth is, Charles died a martyr in defence of our church and our laws; for it was he who defended, whilst the Parliament attacked both. Charles fell, and with him, in one common ruin, our Anglican Church and State! Not that Parliament were altogether in fault, far from it; a collision caused by the growing independence and enlightenment of mankind, who refused any longer blindly to submit to the tyranny of harsh, and often persecuting statutes, was inevitable; it came, but it does not necessarily result that either Charles or the Commons were to blame. To a certain extent, indeed, both parties must be acquitted of evil, for originally they were unconscious of their mutual danger: that the contest was mainly engendered by the furious zeal of the Commons on behalf of Presbytery and their equally intense hatred of Prelacy, there is little doubt. Still less can it be doubted that Charles was, legally speaking, in the right, and Parliament in the wrong; for the dominion exercised by Elizabeth surely exceeded that which Charles or his predecessor ever wielded. In justice to this monarch we cannot, as some, who condemn him with the head, while they sympathise from the heart with him, merely say, Place yourself, reader, in his position, fancy his difficulties your

difficulties, his afflictions your afflictions, and what, could he have foreseen it, would have filled his cup to the overflowing—the knowledge that that Church for which he shed his blood would be endangered by the Popery of his own children; and that those members who were one with him in his love for it would be through the inscrutable providence of God cut off in the flower of their days, as if to show it was not human but divine instrumentality that was to watch over and protect his church; and then say, Would you not have acted as he did? But what we do say is, that any one wishing to impartially judge Charles I. must do so solely from the data he had for his guidance, and not, as is too often done, by the experience of the last two centuries; 1625, not 1855, furnishes the criteria by which he should be tried; for what knowledge had Charles of Revolutions, or of the doctrine of "the Rights of the People," as contradistinguished from His own Rights as the vicegerent of his divine Master, to whom alone he held himself responsible? The examples of subjects resisting their prince were confined to what was then considered remote and barbarous ages,* whilst the unqualified submission, then almost universally rendered them, was viewed as the natural consequence of enlightened and ad-

* Even the combined resistance of the barons and people to King John when they wrested from the wily monarch that inestimable code of laws, Magna Charta, was regarded, in the times of which we are speaking, as a monstrous sample of rebellion to their Prince, indicative of the barbarous ideas pervading a semi-civilized age.

vanced ideas, based upon those precepts of the New Testament so uncompromisingly maintained by our Anglican divines, who taught as an infallible dogma "that it was by God alone kings reigned, and princes executed justice." If fair allowance be made for these principles, the dominant ones of the day, and the difficulties Charles had to contend with be impartially considered, we are not certain that there are not grounds for suspecting that this prince has had his full share of the obloquy by which all the Stuart family, root and branch, have been assailed. But we must not linger here; yet the countenance of Charles has stayed us, and that sorrowful, reproachful glance, which seems so fearlessly and tranquilly to challenge the verdict of posterity, has haunted us, and seemed to impel us to utter a word in defence of him who is but too often misjudged and calumniated, even by those who are taught to pray "that his memory may be ever blessed among us, and that we also may follow the example of his courage and constancy, his meekness, patience, and great charity." Yes; "though his end seemed to be without honour, he is now in peace; for though he was punished in the sight of men, yet was his hope full of immortality."* Return we more immediately to our subject.

King Charles I. married, after an abortive negotiation for the hand of the Infanta Mary of Spain

* Book of Common Prayer. Commemoration Service for the Martyrdom of the Blessed King Charles I.

(in which, like a true knight errant, he went over in person to court his lady love), the Princess Henrietta of France, third and youngest daughter of the great Henri Quatre. This union was solemnized immediately after his accession to the throne, 22nd May, 1625; and by it he had, besides two children who died in infancy, three sons and three daughters; viz. Charles, James, and Henry; Mary, Elizabeth, and Henrietta. It is necessary, in order that the relation of the Excluded Members of the Royal Family to the throne be clearly understood, that we devote a short space to each of these princes and princesses.

Charles, the eldest son, is so well known in history as England's Second Charles, that a few words descriptive of his career will suffice. This prince was born 29th May, 1630, and was consequently but a youth of eighteen when his father's murder inducted him into the nominal possession of his legal rights; though not until the death of Cromwell did he actually realize them, his entry into his capital taking place 29th May, 1660, his birthday, amid the universal plaudits of his subjects. It is said that, seeing the throng who pressed him on his route to inherit the throne of his fathers, bedewing him with their repentant tears and acclamations, Charles gave vent to the touching exclamation of "What has kept me so long from my people?" what, indeed, had, but the iron tyranny of Cromwell and his myrmidons? Charles espoused in the year 1662

the Princess Katherine of Portugal, daughter of John, first King of the Braganza dynasty; and this union laid the foundation of that happy intimacy which has, with few exceptions, subsisted to the present day between Great Britain and Portugal. By this princess Charles had, unfortunately, no issue; and dying, 1685, was succeeded on the throne by his brother James, an avowed Roman Catholic. There is too much reason to fear that Charles himself died, even if he had not lived, in the communion of that faith; the only difference betwixt his brother and himself being that he did not care to risk his popularity, may be his throne, by an open profession of it. So much for the religious principles of the degenerate eldest son of the Martyr King.

James, second son of Charles I., hitherto known as the Duke of York, next ascended the English throne, under the title of James II. This prince was born the 14th of October, 1633, but his career is so notorious that we must be very brief in our comments. On his father's escape from Oxford in 1646, James fell, with other members of the court, into the hands of the victorious Parliamentarians, by whom he was consigned to the guardianship of the Duke of Northumberland; but this nobleman's vigilance he managed so successfully to elude, that prior to his father's death he effected his escape into France. Arrived at Paris, he was beset by his mother with the most importunate entreaties for his conversion to the Romish faith; but these overtures, to his

credit be it said, he firmly rejected. He even gave up, what was then no nominal sacrifice, home, mother, and friends, rather than waver in his allegiance to the Church of his fathers. Until his brother's restoration, James wandered on the Continent without home or friends and almost penniless; yet we must except from the censure of deserting him his loving sister, the Princess of Orange, who was beyond all praise in her efforts to support and protect her exiled brothers.

In December, 1659, James contracted himself, being then in exile at Breda, in Brabant, to Anne Hyde, daughter of the great Earl of Clarendon, and three months after the Restoration, he openly espoused her in London. As Anne was one of the maids of honour to his sister, the Princess of Orange, it was only James's strict sense of honour which induced him to espouse her,—an unfortunate union, as it afterwards proved, both for himself and his people. In 1671 James made an open profession of the Romish faith, but it is to be feared that he had for some time been a secret convert. What prompted him to an open avowal of his belief was the death of his wife, which occurred at this time, and who on her death-bed declared herself a Roman Catholic. Doubtless no pains had been spared by the Papal party to bring over to their Church the expected inheritors of the crown of England! We have reason to be thankful that while man proposes, it is God who disposes of events; for certainly the

Papists, could it have been predicted to them, would have received with a smile of incredulity the startling assertion that the Head of their own Church would plot the overthrow of a Catholic King of England, and the substitution of a Protestant in his room; yet so the providence of God had decreed it.

Two years after his first wife's death, on the 30th of September, 1673, James married Mary Beatrice of the far-famed house of Esté, daughter of Alphonso, Duke of Modena,—a princess whom *le grand monarque* hesitated not in describing as the first lady in Europe: "If you would know," said he one day, addressing a princess of his family, "what a queen should be like, you have only to see the Queen of England." She was, indeed, a princess of unrivalled charms, both mentally and corporeally. Towards the latter end of the reign of Charles II., James underwent much obloquy and persecution at the hands of the Whig party, whose bill for denuding him of the succession they were all but successful in passing. Twice was his brother enforced to banish him, or his life would not have been secure, to Holland and Scotland. From about the year 1680 he was, however, less molested.

It was on the 6th of February, 1685, that James became, by his brother's death, King of England. The events of his reign are engraven in history, and do not need repetition. In consequence of a succession of ill-judged attempts to restore the Papal domination in Britain; or, as he solemnly avers to

have been his only object, the bare toleration of his own or any other religion in our country; James was, on the birth of a son, who would, of course, have been educated in his father's faith, driven from the throne. He retired into France, where, notwithstanding several efforts to regain his lost kingdom, he ended his days on the 16th September, 1701, only six months before his ambitious son and supplanter William.

James had issue by his first wife, Anne Hyde, besides six children who died in infancy; two daughters, Mary and Anne, born 1662 and 1664, and both in rotation queens of England, who had the unenviable honour of bringing down his grey hairs in sorrow to the grave. By his second wife, Mary Beatrice, besides four children who died in infancy, he had a son, James, the innocent cause of his father's deposition, born 10th June, 1688; and a daughter, Louisa, born during his days of exile, 28th of June, 1692, at St. Germain's. This princess, whom he viewed as given in answer to his special prayers, he surnamed *la Consolatrice*, or "the Comforter;" because now, he said, "he had a daughter who had never sinned against him." * It is sad to think that all the good and noble qualities which this monarch undoubtedly possessed were rendered useless, nay, dangerous, to his people by the profession of an alien faith; but still more sad is it to

* Strickland's Queens of England, Life of Mary Beatrice of Modena.

reflect, that a certain class of writers, merely on account of this difference of religious belief, have systematically made a practice of vilifying the actions of James. His courage, which the news of the day has only to be read to be found unquestioned, sneered at and disputed; his fatherly love for his children designated as tyranny; and all his other good qualities perseveringly explained away or denied.* What fairness there is in Protestant writers thus practising the justly decried maxims

* It is amusing to observe with what partisan zeal Macaulay labours to prove that all the good actions of James emanated from vile motives, and that far from deserving praise for them, he rather merited censure. Thus the magnificent income which James settled on his daughter Anne, is only mentioned in order to cast obloquy on him for not being equally liberal to Mary. But Macaulay should have remembered, that the relative positions of Mary and Anne were widely different. Anne was a member of her father's court, and wholly dependent on his bounty for support. She was retained at it by his too indulgent fondness, which prompted him to make any sacrifice rather than part with his remaining child. Prince George's income, moreover, was wholly inadequate to support Anne in the state she had been accustomed to; but surely some credit is due to James for his indulgent care of this daughter, nor can he be justly censured simply for refusing to support Mary. Strange, indeed, would it have been if James had been expected to aid Mary in accelerating his own ruin, yet such would have been the case! Still James, when she applied to him on the subject, expressed himself not unwilling to assist her, provided he was assured the money should not be used against himself. A more reasonable answer could scarcely have been accorded. It is certain, had James acceded to her wishes he would only have been accounted an unsuspecting fool for his pains, as reliance on the word of others is actually brought against him as a crime. Macaulay says, "A propensity to suspicion was not among James's vices. Indeed, the confidence which he reposed in professions of fidelity and attachment was such as might rather have been expected from a good-hearted and inexperienced stripling, than from a politician who was far advanced in life,—who had seen much of the world, who had suffered

of Ignatius Loyola we leave to more ingenious sophists than ourselves to determine; but we would ask those writers who so cruelly misrepresent the actions and courage of James, what would be their feelings, and where would be their courage, brave though they might be under ordinary circumstances, supposing the members of their own household, or worse still, their loved and trusted children, were to desert them in their direst extremity, and actually hound on their enemies to attack them? Who will venture to tell the depths of bitterness in that father's heart when he gave vent to the agonizing exclamation of "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!" Well might he be overwhelmed, that too fond and trusting parent, for could he fail contrasting his children's conduct to him in distress with his own conduct to his father in affliction, when, amid all the bitter ingredients in that father's cup, he had the

much from villanous arts" (unwittingly, we suspect, Macaulay has here traced the truth), "and whose own character was by no means a favourable specimen of human nature. It would be difficult to mention any other man who, having himself so little scruple about breaking faith with others, was so slow to believe that others could break faith with him." It would be difficult, we think, for any one, excepting a partisan so blinded as Macaulay, not to see that James had that confidence in others, because he manifested the same himself. So forcible and irresistible is truth, that Macaulay finds himself unconsciously tracing it, in the very language he is seeking to deny its power. When he says, "it is difficult to find any one having so little scruple as James, who placed so much confidence in others," he has unconsciously admitted the truth; for such a character as he has pourtrayed James is a moral impossibility.—Vide *Macaulay*, vol. ii. p. 516.

consolation of being loved, aye, even unto death, by his dutiful and affectionate children! * No; necessary as the Revolution of 1688 was in a political point of view; and praiseworthy as may have been our ancestors' share in it—for they at least violated no moral duties in its enforcement; never can the benefits which it conferred be held to afford any excuse for the infamous conduct of its prime originators—the heartless William, Mary, and Anne, all recipients of a betrayed parent's bounty, though even in their conduct minor gradations of guilt may be observed; for Anne was less culpable than William, and William, perhaps, less culpable than Mary. Palliate, as some writers may, the unnatural conduct of the children of James II. in their violation of the moral law of God, under the shallow pretext of obeying its precepts; we cannot add to the number of those who excuse their conduct by that jesuitical sophistry which teaches that "the end justifies the means;" surely, of all the maxims of the followers of Ignatius Loyola, one of the most detestable and diabolical. That the behaviour of Mary, in particular, was censured alike by her friends and foes is universally admitted; though for Macaulay has the unenviable task been reserved of wreathing in his most flowery language an eulogy on her for her unnatural conduct, —conduct which even her partisans have hitherto

* The Princess Elizabeth never recovered the shock occasioned by her father's death. She died of grief eighteen months afterwards.

refrained from palliating, and which, had they consulted good taste or historic truth, they could not have done better than remained silent on.

The theory on which Macaulay rests Mary's vindication, is indeed so far-fetched and improbable, that few will be disposed to give credence to it; and its falsity has only to be demonstrated in order to establish, beyond contradiction, all the imputations which the most virulent of Mary's enemies have loaded her with. It may be judged, therefore, how strenuously Macaulay contends for the theory on which he bases the innocence of his heroine. Nevertheless, we are assured that his statement, founded solely on the (as he himself admits) often "grossly inaccurate" dicta of Burnet, and which even that writer, who considered Mary "an angel in human form," refrains from stating he gave credit to, will not be believed in opposition to the testimony of Evelyn, Oldmixon, and the Duchess of Marlborough, even if Burnet himself may not be added to the list. What we are alluding to as the contested point in Mary's conduct, is, the manner in which she comported herself on taking possession of Whitehall, her father's palace, which she entered on his ruin, —that ruin having been consummated by herself and her treacherous husband, who induced James to flee his kingdom by threats tantamount to endangering his life, and then with unparalleled hypocrisy had the hardihood to declare he deserted it! Macaulay, vindicating Mary, thus defends her.

His theory has at least the merit of being novel and ingenious. He says, "Mary's behaviour shocked the Tories, and was not thought faultless even by the Whigs.* A young woman placed by a destiny as mournful as that which brooded over the fabled house of Labdacus and Pelops, in such a situation that she could not, without violating her duty to her God, her husband, and her country, refuse to take her seat on the throne from which her father had just been hurled" (by herself), "should have been sad, or at least serious. Mary was not merely in high, but extravagant spirits. She entered Whitehall, it was asserted,† with a girlish delight at being mistress of so fine a house; ran about the rooms, peeped into the closets, and examined the quilt of the state bed, without seeming to remember by whom the stately apartments had been occupied. Burnet who had till *then*‡ thought her an angel in human form, could not on this occasion refrain from blaming her. He was the more astonished, because when he took leave of her at the Hague, she was, though fully convinced she was n the path of duty, deeply

* Does Macaulay mean to imply that it was a failing in the Whigs to perceive anything blameworthy in Mary? The construction of the sentence leaves it at least problematical; or does he mean to insinuate that Whigs have, or ought to have, a different moral standard of judging right and wrong from Tories?

† Why is the word "asserted" used here? No one, not even Macaulay himself, questions the fact: it is thus this writer endeavours to cast doubts on well-authenticated circumstances.

‡ This "then" of Burnet's is curious, as showing that even his opinion of her was shaken.

dejected.* To him as to her spiritual guide she explained her conduct. William had written to inform her that some of those who had tried to separate their interests from his, still continued their machinations: they gave out that she thought herself wronged; and if she wore a gloomy countenance the report would be confirmed. He therefore entreated her to make her first appearance with an air of cheerfulness. Her heart, she said, was far indeed from cheerful: but she had done her best, and as she was afraid of not sustaining well a part which was uncongenial to her feelings, she had over-acted it. Her deportment was the subject of reams of scurrility in prose and verse: it lowered her in the opinion of some whose esteem she valued; nor did the world know, till she was beyond the reach of praise and censure, that the conduct which had brought on her the reproach of levity and insensibility, was really a signal instance of that perfect disinterestedness and self-devotion of which man seems to be incapable, but which is sometimes found in woman." †

* Observe how very obtuse Mary's conscience was; for at the time "she was so fully convinced she was in the path of duty," she was writing letters replete with falsehoods to her father, protesting that her husband had no idea of invading England! So lately as the 20th of September, 1688, only six weeks before the Prince of Orange landed, Mary wrote to her father to this effect:—Her cause for dejection was her fear lest her husband's expedition might prove unsuccessful, when the risks he would have encountered might have well appalled even a heart less feminine than Mary's. It is evident from her after career that it could not have been solicitude for her father's safety.

† Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii. pp. 658, 659.

Poor traduced Mary! how shamefully have historians misrepresented her!—instead of being a hard-hearted unnatural daughter, mindless of the sacred ties of domestic life, she was one of whom the world was not worthy! one who prostrated her duty of wifely submission to her husband so completely, that it involved with her a total abnegation of self, an abnegation so complete and devoted, that man is incapable of it, though woman, faithful woman, is sometimes found equal to the task! We can only hope that from that total abnegation of self, recommended by Macaulay, involving a disregard of all the social relations of life, save that existing between husband and wife, the wives and daughters of England may be preserved. The monstrous doctrine, "that all divines and publicists are agreed on the duty of a wife siding with her husband in doing wrong," in preference to opposing him in doing right, we join issue with altogether; for it involves the odious assertion, that the wife would be bound to side with her husband in murdering her father and mother, instead of opposing him in doing so; for if all the commandments of the moral law are equally binding on Christians, who is to decide which may be safely violated, or draw the line of demarcation between them? Such a distinction, even if not wrong, would be impracticable. That law which says, "Do no murder," says also, "Honour thy father and mother;" but it does not add, "If thou hast a husband, this command is nullified;" and it is certain that the

wife's submission to her husband was never intended to be antagonistic to her other duties. "Obey God rather than man," is a command as binding on wives as daughters; and that "all divines and publicists are agreed upon this," Macaulay might with truth have asserted. Macaulay's zeal in defending Mary has entirely outstripped his discretion, for he never could have believed that his statements regarding her, in direct contravention of all historical evidence, would be believed by any but the most superficial and unlearned reader. It will be seen what Mary's relatives and contemporaries, some of them too her partisans, thought of her conduct. They surely were the best judges of it, and their evidence is strangely opposed to Macaulay's fantastic theory. If all agree in their relation, no doubt, we think, can remain of their truthfulness.

Hear what Evelyn says:—"Queen Mary came to Whitehall laughing and jolly as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undress, as it is reported, before her women were up, went about the palace from room to room to see the convenience of it; lay in the same bed and apartment her unfortunate step-mother had always used, and within a night or two sat down to play at basset, as that princess had been accustomed to do. She smiled upon and talked to everybody, which carriage was censured by many."*

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. ii. p. 6.

What says the Duchess of Marlborough?—"Queen Mary wanted bowels. Of this she gave unquestionable proof the first day she came to Whitehall. She ran about it looking into every closet and conveniency, and turning up the quilts of the bed just as people do at an inn, with no sort of concernin her appearance. Although at thetime I was extremely caressed by her, I thought it very strange and unbecoming conduct. For whatever necessity there was of deposing King James, he was still her father, who had been lately driven from that very chamber, and from that bed; and if she felt no tenderness, I thought, at least, she might have looked grave, or even pensively sad, at so melancholy a reverse of fortune."* Thus even this bold intriguante, whose husband's desertion had mainly accelerated King James's deposition, felt more sympathy for him than his heartless unnatural daughter.

What is the language of Burnet himself, on whose assertions Macaulay grounds his fiction? Why this, "That Mary's conduct on taking possession of her father's palace elicited universal reprobation;"—and he then goes on to say, "I confess I was one of those who censured her in my thoughts. I thought a little more seriousness had done as well when she came into her father's palace, and was to be set on his throne the next day." And then follows the groundwork of Macaulay's elaborate romance. "I had never seen," he says, "the least indecency in

* The Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, pp. 26, 27.

any part of her deportment before, which made her behaviour appear so extraordinary to me, that I took the liberty of asking her, 'How it came that what she saw in so sad a revolution (it will be seen that almost every one seemed to feel for the unfortunate James, excepting his children: Burnet was one of his bitterest enemies, yet he calls it a sad revolution)* in her father's person, made no greater impression on her?' to which she answered with her usual goodness, 'That she felt the sense of it very lively in her thoughts, but that the letters which had been sent to her, had exhorted her to put on a cheerfulness, in which perhaps she had gone too far, because she was obeying directions not natural to her.'"† If Mary was, as she pretended, only playing a part, surely it would have been better to have under-acted rather than over-acted it. It is too evident from her after career, that the part she acted on this occasion was natural—not assumed by her—as she so adroitly pretended, when catechised by Burnet; possibly in consequence of a hint from her astute husband, who might himself have been secretly disgusted at her effrontery. It is evident Burnet disbelieved her excuses, though he records them. Even Oldmixon, her partisan, says, speaking of those who asserted her conduct was feigned, "If they had seen

* One of the most popular, and certainly one of the most trite and truthful Jacobite distichs of that era was,

"Mary and William, George and Anne,
Four such children never had man."

† Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 781.

her as others did, they would not have ventured to report such falsity; so far from acting a part not natural to her, there was nothing in her looks which was not as natural and as lovely as ever there were charms in woman."* Macaulay cannot plead ignorance of Oldmixon's statements, for his work is continually quoted by him. Why does he, on this occasion, refrain from taking counsel with him, but because his statements are adverse to his theory? and how can he justify his assertion of Mary's innocence, after reading this solemn asseveration of one of her partisans? He has thus, to suit party purposes, ignored on an important occasion the testimony of one of his own witnesses! How can Macaulay reconcile this with historic truth?—for his own authorities have, with strange prescience, beforehand condemned his statement as false! To their judgment we are content to leave it; for more irrefragable proof of its being a genuine romance there cannot be.

One plea, and one only, if plea it may be called, might Macaulay have ventured upon for Mary. That he has not made it, we can well understand, for it would have painted his hero, to whom even he would sacrifice Mary, in any but the amiable light he has represented him. It is this, that Mary had been so thoroughly drilled into submission by her husband, that she had no longer a will of her own. Her spirit, broken by constant insult, had become so

* Oldmixon's History, p. 780.

obtuse, callous and assimilated to his own, that the amiable frailty of human nature, involved in a regard for relatives and kindred, had been overcome in her. For Mary was not always the hard-hearted woman she now appeared; once she had been innocent and guiltless, fondly attached to her father, her sister, and the memory of her grandfather. In February 1689 she was changed, but that change had not been wrought in her without an effort. Seven dreary years of apprenticeship had she served her husband, before all marks of natural affection were wholly eradicated in her; before the once amiable Mary of York became the unnatural Mary of Orange. Well had William performed his task, and thoroughly had he changed her once ingenuous nature.* His marriage with her in the first instance had been wholly determined by political considerations: it was the heiress of the British throne he had wedded, and determined he was, come what might, and violate what duties he might, in the accomplishment of his object, that she should be the heiress. She was the stepping-stone by which he hoped to vault into his

* The little daughter of Lord Preston, when that nobleman was condemned to death for his attachment to the cause of his old master (James II.) threw herself at the feet of Queen Mary to intercede for her father's life. Struck by the peculiar expression on the child's countenance, Mary asked her what she was thinking about so earnestly. "I was only thinking," replied the little girl, "how very strange it is that you should want to take away *my* father's life, only because he loves *yours* so well!" What tragedy could surpass in impassioned grandeur the sublime pathos of this reply? Even so, the most laboured arguments of the greatest authors fail in carrying conviction with them when opposed to the unconscious truthfulness of childhood!

uncle's seat, and it was absolutely necessary for that purpose that he should first eradicate all sparks of natural affection from her breast in order that she might become the unresisting instrument of his political views. This he accomplished, and James lost his throne through his confidence in the lying protestations of his eldest daughter, who, after she had lost all feelings of natural affection for him, still deceived him with the semblance of them, and kept up a show of pretended affection and endearing intercourse until her husband's armament was ready to invade his shores. Well did she act her part, and surely did she, even in this world, meet with her reward! This is the woman, who, because she called herself a Protestant, is designated "Good Queen Mary" by partial historians, who have moreover the audacity (or innocence) to assert, in the face of these facts, that, when William sailed for Ireland to encounter his uncle James, "she was distracted with anxiety for her father's safety."* Mary's capabilities of acting a part must, indeed, have been displayed to perfection if she appeared so! The representing her as "torn with anxiety for the safety of her father," is the bitterest satire upon her conduct which could have been penned; it was so natural a feeling for even the most reprobate of mankind to indulge in, that historians have taken it for granted that Mary should have experienced it; but when we look for any authority for this statement, there is

* Smollett's History of England, vol. xi. p. 88.

none; on the contrary, there is not a particle of evidence to show that Mary, from the commencement of her downward career, ever evinced the slightest anxiety for the safety of her injured parent. She never exhibited any such feeling, no, not even on her dying bed, but actually busied herself previously to her decease, in burning all her papers.* What tell-tale evidence would not these papers have disclosed! And yet this woman, whom Madame de Sévigné so aptly terms "a second Tullia, who would boldly have driven over the body of her father,"† is eulogised by Burnet, in the panegyric he pronounced on her, as "one of whom the world was not worthy, and whom God took, because had she lived, she would have been too great a blessing to it."

How opposed is the verdict of God to this partial encomium of one who was—we confess it with sorrow—a Bishop in the Anglican church. God says, "Cursed is she that setteth light by her father and mother,"‡ short shall her days be in the land, if she honour them not; maledictions which were in this case speedily verified. Whether is the Jacobite clergyman's discourse, in which he admonished his hearers to "Go, bury this cursed woman, for she was a king's daughter;" or the adulatory language of Burnet, most in consonance with the text above quoted?

* Burnet: Strickland, vol. xi. p. 306.

† Vide Letters of Madame de Sévigné, for the year 1688.

‡ Deuteronomy xxvii. 16.

How miserably do those writers pervert the *morale* of history who confuse in their readers' minds by ingenious sophisms the moral difference betwixt right and wrong, by teaching that such characters as William and Mary are entitled to the admiration of posterity; characters whom in vain they strive to portray as perfect, when the simple narration of their actions suffices to condemn them, even with a child! What a parallel does the conduct of such historians afford to that of the Pharisees rebuked by Christ, when he told them that God commanded, saying, "Honour thy father and mother; he that curseth father or mother, let him die the death; *but ye say*, Whosoever shall say to his father and mother, It is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, and honour not his father and mother, he shall be free:" thus have ye (and you, O ye writers of the Burnet school) made the Word of God of none effect by your traditions.*

If all the bishops of the Anglican church had been like their heavenly-minded primate and the sainted author of the vesper hymn, what a beautiful structure would the Church of England have exhibited! All honour to those noble men, who suffered obloquy, persecution, and bonds, rather than obey the unlawful behests of their sovereign James—and who refused riches, honour, and what to them was more dear, the cure of souls committed to them, rather than prostitute themselves by unhallowed

* Matthew xv. 4-6.

oaths to William—when a conscience void of offence, and their duty towards God and man alike prohibited their forswearing themselves! Little did the world understand or appreciate them, if it mistook them for priestly agitators! They not only preached, but they practised, the doctrines prescribed them by their beloved Church. Yes! if all the bishops of the Church of England had been of one mind with Sancroft, Ken, Lake, White, and Lloyd, names immortalized in the annals of the Church, and of the world, what a noble attitude would that Church have assumed! then, indeed, would she have won for herself even the homage and admiration of the world, for it would have been manifest of her, from her sublimity and moral grandeur as the exponent of the precepts of her lowly Master, that she was of a verity "the joy of the whole earth;" her conduct evincing it was the immutable principle of rectitude, arising from a life "hid with Christ," which enabled her successfully to combat and overcome the princes and powers of this world!

But to return to the daughters of James II. It has been said that Anne's conduct was somewhat less blameable than Mary's—and it was so on the whole, because she afterwards repented of her sins: not that but during the first crisis of the Revolution, her behaviour was not even more criminal than her sister's, for she enjoyed many advantages which Mary had not. She was idolized by her father, who retained her at his court, even after her marriage, so

loth was he to part with her. She was in the place of his favourite elder daughter, lost to him, though happily he knew it not, by the wiles of her treacherous husband. An income of £32,000 a-year, an unprecedentedly liberal one in those days, as compared with what her predecessors had enjoyed, was settled on Anne by her indulgent father, who moreover, on any application from her, invariably discharged her personal debts.* Neither had Anne the excuse that she had a husband to force her into doing what was wrong, for Prince George of Denmark was a perfect nonentity. "I have tried George drunk, and I have tried him sober, and drunk or sober, I can make nothing of him,"† once said Charles II.; a speech of the witty monarch's which conveys a terse estimate of George's character. The question naturally suggests itself, How could Anne benefit by a Revolution?—truly a difficult one to answer had this Princess been a rational woman, accountable for her actions. Such, however, she was not, for she was governed, body and soul, by that bold intriguante, the Duchess of Marlborough, whose political inspirations she unhesitatingly followed.‡ Sarah saw, though her mistress did not, who would be winner in the contest, and played her cards accordingly. Probably had Anne been unbiassed by external influences, she would have remained neutral. Certain

* Strickland's Queens of England, vol. x. p. 344. Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 562.

† Dartmouth's note on Burnet, vol. i. p. 643. Macaulay, vol. ii. p. 519.

‡ Vide Macaulay's statements respecting her, assertions corroborated by all historians, vol. iii. pp. 562-6.

it is, that she never displayed that adaptability for intrigue and consummate powers of deception when unaided; for, shocking as it is to relate, she succeeded in deceiving her father by the very means she accused her innocent step-mother of practising; viz., by pretending to be with child! "Good God!" said her uncle, Lord Clarendon, when informed by her husband of the *ruse* she had practised, "there has been nothing but lying and dissimulation."* Anne's pretended escape from her father at the crisis, was undoubtedly concocted by Sarah of Marlborough; and what proves that it was owing to the favourite's influence (notwithstanding her haughty disclaimer), is her admission that such a step was necessary for *her* interests! Who can doubt after this, whether—in the poor faithful Morley's—or the domineering Mrs. Freeman's brain originated "the sudden and unconcerted affair?"†

Queens Mary II. and Anne, though apparently prospering in the sight of men, were not allowed to go unpunished by the just vengeance of God. Of Anne's seventeen children, not one survived to inherit the guilty parent's coronet; one, William Duke of Gloucester, lived to be eleven years of age, only to render his loss the more afflicting to his bereaved mother, who, in the agony of spirit caused by that sad event, wrote to her injured father confessing she had sinned against

* Lord Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 16.

† The Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 19.

him. Yes! Anne, who had by her conduct drawn that bitter cry from her parent of "My God, help me, for my own children have forsaken me," was destined by the retributive justice of God to be bereaved of all her children: and when we find her in later years overcome by infirmities, yet struggling, though unsuccessfully, against the cabals of her contentious ministers, it is difficult to refrain from feelings of commiseration for her hard fate; for verily, as she had sown, so she reaped!

It is some slight palliation of Anne's conduct to believe that her devotion to the Church of England was at least sincere. The Duchess of Marlborough admits this, though she says it was a bigoted attachment beyond her (the Duchess's) comprehension; an assertion we can readily credit coming from Sarah Jennings, for, assuredly, both piety and superstition were equally removed from this Lady. Had it not been for the evidence afforded by Anne's letters, it might have always remained a disputed point, whether it was her zeal for the Church, or jealousy of her brother, which actuated her political conduct. Unfortunately for her reputation, fortunately for historical truth, they remain silent witnesses of her deceit and perfidy. Still, there is little doubt that Anne in later years, when conscience reproached her for past transgressions, and she found herself childless and bereaved, would gladly have restored her brother his lost inheritance, could she have done so without prospective danger to the Anglican Church. After

all she had dared, to what exact extent for that Church, or herself, must be left to her conscience: it would indeed have been sad to have undone all, although we dare hardly have censured her, as a sister, had she adopted a contrary course, and openly made her brother's interests her own. It would at least have been a tardy reparation for the many injuries she had inflicted upon him. In fact, it was only her being so suddenly cut off, which prevented her restoring him to his place in the succession; and with this opinion all modern historians coincide.*

Torn between her wish to make amends to her brother for her injustice to him—yet dreading his appearance in England, as the signal for a counter revolution and her own dethronement—sincerely desirous to protect the Church of England, and keep away from the country her dreaded heiress Sophia, it is no wonder that Anne lived a life of constant worry and excitement; and it was doubtless, as she herself declared, this agitation which caused her death, which occurred from a fit of apoplexy, 1st of August, 1714, the very day she was to have installed in office a Jacobite Premier: thus we see that the crown which Anne so madly grasped at proved to her a very crown of thorns.

It shows in a preeminent way the paths of God in history, that though for his own wise purposes, and the accomplishment of a necessary end, he permitted the success of the Revolution of 1689; yet,

* Vide Lord Mahon's History of England.

that those who violated all natural ties of duty and affection in seizing upon a throne, at best they should but reluctantly have accepted, were surely punished, even in this world, for their ambition. Mary, who was certainly the most culpable, died at the early age of thirty-two, within six years of her accession to the throne. Her husband followed her shortly afterwards, his death being occasioned by a fall from his horse: neither left children to inherit their ill-gotten dominions. Anne, after burying her seventeen children, died of a broken heart, caused by the incessant disputes of her ministers. Very different from the conduct of James's undutiful children was that of his cousin Sophia, the parliamentary heiress; though this lady was by no means devoid of ambition, and, moreover, not closely related to him, it was only after repeated remonstrances that she consented to accept the proffered crown: the letter which she wrote, begging that the prior claims of *le pauvre Prince de Galles* might not be overlooked, is designated the Electoress Sophia's Jacobite letter.

We have entered—perhaps, too discursively—on the personal characters of the actors in the Revolution of 1689; a desire that the true characters of William, Mary, and Anne should be accurately delineated, must plead our excuse; and we have the rather been incited to the task, on account of the very incorrect portraiture of them by many historians, who seem rather to have painted them as they should have been, than as they were. The writings of Macaulay,

in particular, render it absolutely incumbent on all who would vindicate the cause of historical truth, that the real, not fictitious, characters of William, Mary, and Anne should be faithfully portrayed, for too long has their "Protestant reputation" been held to expiate their moral offences and cover a multitude of sins. It is unfeignedly to be deplored that Macaulay should have prostituted his brilliant talents and the beautiful, though careless and elegant minutiæ with which he chronicles events to this purpose, and have sacrificed at the altar of political expediency, what should have been held sacred, the immortality of truth, to the fancied wants of a finished romance. It is his enthusiastic advocacy of the Revolutionary party which has led him to deify the authors of it, and even call evil good, and good evil, according as they are affected by the relation. His attempt to glorify William, Mary, and Anne by throwing a fictitious lustre over their justly exploded reputations, reminds us of the last expiring ray of light which illumes with an illusive splendour what will shortly be enveloped in darkness. Tantamount to this, and as transitory, is the meretricious praise bestowed on the trio by their admirer, for who that has read their correspondence dare affirm that it was their love for the laws of Protestant England (the only legitimate excuse which can be proffered for them) which led them to uncrown their father?

It must ever be regretted that a work, which from its unrivalled powers of description, might have ranked

as a standard history of England, should have derogated from this high position by its avowed subserviency to party purposes, though far better is it, its relation should be glaringly partial, than that by a seeming impartiality it should have deceived even the learned, and thereby have corrupted the fount of historical truth. That this eulogy of the Revolutionary actors, despite all evidence to the contrary, was to be expected from Macaulay is certain, for his work is, what it was surmised it would be, a life-long defence of the Whig party. Without William, that party might not have existed; that Macaulay should have elevated him to the pedestal of a demi-god, therefore, need excite no surprise; though taken on his own showing, it is not difficult to discover that William was a very different character from what he is ostensibly represented. The only ground on which Macaulay might have based William's vindication, with strange perversity, he has done what he could to demonstrate the falsity of. It might be—and posterity grateful for what he unconsciously achieved, have thought too rashly that it was—that William of Orange came over to protect the oppressed laws and liberties of Protestant England :—for such an object, and devoid of interested motives, he would have deserved the admiration of posterity; but was it so? Alas! that a condemnation of this theory should come most forcibly from the pen of Macaulay! What, according to this writer, was it that William desired? The security of the Protestant Church of England?

No! for he detested and abused it. The predominance of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland? No! for he loved that even less. The preservation of the laws of England? No! for hear from the lips of his panegyrist, that "William was by nature as covetous of power and impatient of restraint, as any of the Stuarts."* His ardent affection for the English people, to become whose monarch he would not stickle at a violation of the law of nations? No! again! for he hated England, and would gladly have bid her shores an eternal adieu,† provided he could have replenished his coffers from her magnificent stores.‡ What, in despair, it may be asked, did William of Orange want? The answer is short and emphatic;—it was *Power;*—power to wield the destinies of this mighty Empire, and render them subservient to his great design, that of abasing Louis XIV., his jealousy and detestation of whom amounted to absolute frenzy. § It was for this noble object that, according to Macaulay, he invaded England, and for which, "wisely and righteously," he used every machination to dethrone his father; for says Macaulay, "had there only been concord

* Macaulay, vol. ii. p. 189.

† William saved England, it is true; but he never loved her, or obtained her love. To him she was always a land of exile, visited with reluctance, and quitted with delight. Even when he rendered to her these services, of which, at this day, we feel the happy effects, her welfare was not his chief object. Whatever patriotic feeling he had, was for Holland. Macaulay, vol. ii. pp. 182-3.

‡ This fact which has sometimes been considered doubtful, is proved *sine dubitatione* by Macaulay. See vol. iii. pp. 529-30.

§ Macaulay, vol. ii. pp. 183-4.

between the Throne and the Parliament of England, William would have been satisfied." If England would only have joined the European coalition against France, William would have been content with any sovereign upon the British throne. When the Exclusionists gained the upper hand in Charles's reign, William advised compliance with their demands and the exclusion of his father-in-law from the throne; advice which it must be remembered was not disinterested, as William would, in such an event, have become heir-apparent. Macaulay pretends that he was secretly averse to such an elevation, and that he rejoiced when the Exclusionists were overthrown,—a statement which, looking at William's antecedents and after-career, we confess ourselves unable to credit. That he was a doubly masked conspirator, regardless of his family's or England's interests, provided he could only carry out his own selfish plans, is proved from the fact, that he sent over a special ambassador to Charles, to congratulate him on the overthrow of the Exclusionists—and express abhorrence of their damnable practices. No wonder that the Republicans, when he afterwards became King, refused to place confidence in such a deceiver. Yet this is the man, whom, in this boasted nineteenth century, we are commanded by the learned exponent of Whiggism to fall down to and worship—a man who, even according to the testimony of his admirer, cared not for our country, our laws, our religion, or his own relatives; and whose sole merit consisted

(as a set-off against these unamiable qualities) in being a statesman,—a statesman who sacrificed all principles of right and wrong to a policy worthy of Machiavel. It is difficult to read the history of William's intrigues, without feelings of profound disgust and indignation for the petty artifices he had recourse to; artifices which a man of any nobility of soul would have scorned, and which are emblematical only of a mind utterly devoid of all principle. How James took William's friendly advice to his brother Charles, to denude him of his place in the succession, Macaulay does not inform us; though, judging from the context, we should imagine he ought to have felt grateful for the well-meant advice. This scheme, however, failed, and the star of Charles becoming again in the ascendant, William as quickly reversed his late policy, and to curry favour with his uncle, fêted Monmouth, whom, notwithstanding his disgrace, he knew to be secretly dear to him. But lo! another change is at hand—Charles, in the meridian of life, expires suddenly; and the Duke of York, so lately a fugitive, ascends peacefully and triumphantly his brother's throne. Then, again, all is changed with William; he banishes the lately idolized Monmouth from his dominions, and makes abject professions of attachment to James; and if that monarch and his parliament had only agreed, whether in destroying or upholding the laws and religion of England, was immaterial, so that they were *d'accord*, William would never have interfered,

and any idea of defending the oppressed Protestants of England would, if ever entertained, have been summarily banished.*

Such, however, was not destined to be the case. James, by what train of reasoning matters not, had arrived at the conclusion—and admitting that he had not done so without a struggle, it seems all the more likely that he was sincere—that perfect religious liberty was the true policy for this country to adopt. That he was primarily influenced to this opinion by his zeal for the interests of his own party, it would be folly to doubt; still, as the lucid Mackintosh remarks, "It does not render the cause of religious liberty the less beneficent and sacred, because it came from James; whom, in forming an estimate of his character, it is impossible to deny had a certain superiority in the comparison of abstract principles."† That the Whigs, now, as then, have no real idea of liberty beyond what suits their own interests and popularity, is abundantly proved by the partial work of Macaulay: as in 1688, so in 1857, they have no notion of freedom extending beyond the precincts of their own party; with liberty on their lips, monopoly and persecution are too often in their hearts; and if any doubts could have existed of this, surely the glaring manner in which Macaulay palliates their worst excesses must dispel the illusion. "The Revolution which proscribed Ludlow and pensioned Oates,

* Macaulay, vol. ii. pp. 162—195.

† Continuation of Sir J. Mackintosh's Hist. of England, vol. viii. p. 308.

bespeaks too truly its real character ;* and we must enter our decided protest against the way in which Macaulay has—to use the least objectionable word—painted the events of those days. To quote the language of an able reviewer, in a paper having a very influential circulation † — and we do so because it would be impossible in more concise phraseology to express our opinions—" His story has disappointed conscientious readers of English history; he has, since the publication of his prior volumes, mended in art, but we doubt whether he has improved in sincerity ; he falsifies no real dates, misdescribes no actual occurrences, he omits little ; but he heavily loads his narrative with portraits of men and women who have lived, done, and suffered ; and these portraits are frequently virtual falsehoods, themselves. The question naturally suggests itself, Is William himself a true portrait ? Has the part he played in the general politics of Europe in no degree warped Mr. Macaulay's judgment ? We are asked to call it the most satisfactory epoch of our history, when England owed her political regeneration and her military rescue to Holland ; the date is one of the least splendid in our annals, and even our author's magnificent language and glowing partisanship fail to reconcile us to the humiliating benefit." And, again, Mr. Macaulay's regard for the past history of the Whigs is more akin to filial piety

* Sir J. Mackintosh's History of England, vol. viii. p. 309.

† Illustrated London News' review of Macaulay's Hist. of England.

than to philosophic approval, or even political admiration, while William he has exalted more to the pedestal of a demigod than a hero." Immediately the question (caused by Macaulay's gross partiality) occurs, Who will write a pendant to his work? In the meanwhile, and until that be done, we would recommend, as a favourable counterpoise, Agnes Strickland's Queens of England;* where, in volumes tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, will be found, traced from incontrovertible sources, the real, not fictitious characters of Mary and Anne; much, also, concerning William's will be found *en passant*.

That Macaulay's work is miscalled a history of England, is evident; for history pre-supposes the truthful narrative of events, and never have they been more distorted in a work professing to deal with them as such than in this instance. Without entering further on the question of Macaulay's historical accuracy, suffice it to say, that out of his own mouth will we condemn him, for enunciating, as he does, a perverse theory at the outset, everything is regarded by him in its false and illusory light. Quote we his words when we write:† "The best historical portraits, perhaps, are those in which there is a slight admixture of caricature, and we are not certain that the best histories are not those in which a little of the exaggeration of fictitious narrative is judiciously employed. Something is lost in accuracy,

* "They combine all the fascinations of a romance with the integrity of history."—*Times*.

† We quote from the "Times" review of Macaulay's History.

but much is gained in effect. The fainter lines are neglected, but the great characteristic features are imprinted on the mind for ever." Now after this avowal of opinion, so ingenuously and nonchalantly made, can we be surprised at any fanciful portraiture of character—however untruthful—that Macaulay may indulge in, when he hesitates not in stating that a little exaggeration and caricature judiciously (whiggishly?) employed, renders history more interesting, and impresses it more deeply on the memory; confessing, moreover, that "it does lose something in accuracy"—which, as he considers, is compensated by increased effect. What is this but a plain admission that romance is preferable to history? In fact, Macaulay, though he shuns to avow it openly, implies as much, at least by implication, when he says (speaking of Sir Walter Scott's productions), "He saw how striking an effect might be produced by pictures of Highland life. Whatever was repulsive was softened down, whatever was graceful and noble was brought very prominently forward. Some of these works were executed with such admirable skill, that, like the historical plays of Shakespeare, they superseded history." Now this is precisely the plan that Macaulay adheres to in his narrative, forgetting with a strange obliquity that Sir Walter Scott's writings never pretended to historical accuracy—whilst his own, clothed in the garb, and assuming the solemn impartiality of history, are distorted by fancies which, however justifiable, nay

laudable, in a romance (for therein consists its success), become criminal in a work of a higher character. Thus, whatever is graceful and noble in Macaulay's personages is brought very prominently forward, whilst whatever is repulsive is more than softened down, it is either left invisibly in the back-ground, or omitted altogether. In William, for instance, pre-eminently Macaulay's "Hero;" whom from the outset he has determined shall be so attractive a personage, that nothing odious nor repulsive shall dim the lustre of his character, all the good qualities he possessed—strangely exaggerated—are brought very prominently forward, whilst all his defects are sedulously concealed. As a foil to him, Macaulay presents Marlborough, the greatest captain of the age, for whom he has conceived a peculiar detestation, and whom he exultingly styles, "a great arch-traitor and monster of turpitude;"* and why—because such was the fact? not at all, but simply because Marlborough wavered in his political allegiance between James, "a fatuous monster," and William, "the Hero."† "Alas for our poets!" says

* For Marlborough's character, as pourtrayed by Macaulay, see more particularly vol. iii. pp. 438, 9, and vol. iv. pp. 52—64, 158—165.

† We do not mean to say that Marlborough's character is so over-drawn, excepting by comparison; but what we do say is, that Macaulay would not have dilated upon his faults with such vindictive satisfaction had he not endangered the security of William's throne. Marlborough's chief, perhaps sole merit, consisted, like William, in being a statesman; and every word uttered against him tells with double effect against the latter, for Marlborough was at least innocent of conspiring against his own relatives.

the "Times;" "neither are they spared." "Dryden is a guilty apostate,* because he changed his religion —and, still more inexplicable offence in Whig eyes —refused in his translation of Virgil to furnish the pictures of Eneas with the hook-nose of William." Nor are the ladies of the Revolution, whom it was to be hoped would have escaped party malice, better treated. Anne Hyde, James's first consort, has "coarse features," because she is James's wife;† whilst Mary Beatrice, his second consort, to whose personal charms even the fastidious taste of Macaulay could not have objected—is simply "a Popish woman,"‡ because she labours under the same disability. How poor Mary Beatrice's beauty would have been dilated upon, had she been fortunate enough to have been William's wife, may be judged from Macaulay's painting Mary II. as a paragon of beauty,§ for no other reason than because she was wedded to William. What a pang it must have caused Macaulay when he reflected that William's wife was James's daughter! Arabella Churchill is worse than Anne Hyde, or Mary Beatrice; and Catherine Sedley is "lean, ugly, painted, haggard, and plastered,"‖ because they are James's mistresses; while Elizabeth Villiers has "great powers of mind," because she is William's mistress. We may observe, *en passant*, how delicately Macaulay treats William's *liaison* with this lady, veiling it, as he does, in the

* Macaulay, vol. iii. p. 24. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 68.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 314. § Ibid. vol. ii. p. 52. ‖ Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 68, 9.

following obscure language: "William in difficult conjunctures frequently applied to her for advice and assistance, for she had talents which well fitted her to partake his cares."* And again, with a plaintive lament, admitting that Mary knew William was not always strictly faithful to her.† Now we are told by authorities better qualified than Macaulay to judge impartially of the beauty of these ladies, being their contemporaries to boot, that "Arabella Churchill had certain qualifications of exquisite beauty," while "Elizabeth Villiers squinted like a dragon," which latter piece of information Macaulay admits was the opinion of Swift.

One more specimen of Macaulay's partialities, and perhaps the most atrocious will suffice. He says, speaking of the cold-blooded massacre of Glencoe, perpetrated by William's orders, and which St. Bartholomew's only rivalled in barbarity, that the author and perpetrator of it, the Master of Stair, "was a very good-natured man; he contemplated a truly great and good end by the massacre of all the Macleans, the Camerons, and the Macdonalds, those set of thieves," (for so the heroic Highlanders are stigmatized for their adherence to the House of Stuart;) "he considered their extermination a great act of justice, nay, of charity; he was an enlightened and politic gownsman," and the horrid massacre was only a proof of "ill-regulated public spirit" on his part; a spirit to which, according to Macaulay,

* Macaulay, vol. iv. pp. 471, 2; vol. ii. p. 174. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 52.

all the atrocities that have disgraced humanity are to be attributed. Nor is William more culpable in the matter than the Master of Stair. That "the man of God's right hand, whom he made so strong for himself,"* would have authorized the massacre in cold blood of the Jacobite Highlanders, we do not believe, but that he intended them to be attacked and put to the sword in open conflict there can be no doubt; the order which he gave for their extirpation running thus, "As for Mc Ian of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can well be distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that set of thieves." What is the natural meaning of this command, but that the Glencoe men should be extirpated, and what can "extirpated" mean but "rooted from the face of the earth?" the very words, "if they can be well distinguished from other Highlanders," imply it; that it meant simply, "that some of the most active members of the tribe were to be transported to other countries" is an idea so perfectly modern and ludicrous, that it could scarcely have suggested itself but to the fertile brain of a Macaulay; certain we are, it would not have occurred to the hardy soldiers on whom the execution of the bloody mandate devolved.† We should have

* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 338.

† Macaulay, vol. iv. pp. 186—217. What makes Macaulay's attempted apology for William's and the Master of Stair's conduct, in relation to the massacre of Glencoe, the more indefensible is, that in another place

thought party prejudices could not have gone further than this, had it not been for the following, which hear, O ye members of the Anglican Church, and then, if ye will, commit yourselves to the guidance of your (pretended) Whig friends, when ye hear from the lips of their impassioned advocate the deliberate assertion, that "Had the Episcopal Church been upheld in Scotland, New Lanark would still have been a sheepwalk, and Greenock a fishing hamlet." So deadly an incubus would Episcopalianism have proved to Scotland!

One word in conclusion, in relation to the policy of the Stuart kings, so unsparingly condemned by Macaulay in his History. That he should stigmatize it in unmeasured terms as base, cowardly, and pusillanimous, can excite no surprise when it is remembered that the condemnation of Charles and James's policy is the justification of William's. Let us see on what grounds the long re-echoed charges of the Whig party, condemnatory of the policy of the Stuart princes, are based; and whether they harmonise with the general teaching of history on this point. Whether, in fact, the Stuart princes are amenable to the charges so lavishly brought against them, or whether they are not the mere

he accuses James of the crime of assassination on much slighter grounds. Will it be believed that this historian translates "extirpate," as meaning simply transportation, when applied to William, and seizing or carrying away, as assassination, when applied to James. What is transportation in the mouth of a Whig, becomes assassination in that of a Tory!—See Macaulay, vol. iv. pp. 205 and 567.

calumnies of party, unsupported by the more matured experience of modern times.

The princes of the House of Stuart, of mild and clement dispositions, attached and devoted husbands and fathers,* naturally prone as such natures are to form ardent and extreme friendships, with highly cultivated minds and lovers of the fine arts, were totally unfitted, these being their leading characteristics, to sway a nation accustomed to the brutality of a Harry, and the tyranny of an Elizabeth. Deeply impressed with the notion that, for the dignity they enjoyed as sovereigns *de jure*, they were solely accountable to God for their actions, they expected to be implicitly obeyed by their subjects, yet dreaded the compulsion necessary to subjugate them. Highly educated even for sovereigns, and with minds of a superior order, they were aware of the blessings of peace, but then little regarded. This is testified by all writers as the distinguishing trait of the first Stuart, King Robert II., of Scotland. It was also conspicuous in Charles and James II. These latter princes, consanguineously allied to Louis XIV.,

* Of course, it will be understood in these remarks on the characters of the Stuarts, that we are speaking of them generally, not individually, as a family. Undoubtedly there were exceptions to the descriptions here given. Charles II., *par exemple*, whom no one could describe as an attached and devoted husband. James I., who was certainly an undutiful and hard-hearted son (though partial excuses for his conduct are not wanting), and Queens Mary II., and Anne, whose barbarity and ingratitude towards an unfortunate, and but too loving father, history cannot sufficiently reprobate. Still taking them as a whole, we think our portraiture of them will be considered correct by impartial judges.

who was their cousin, were the further inclined to his interests by the kindnesses they had received at his hands during their enforced exile in France. Their mother, Henrietta, moreover, during the eleven dreary years of her widowhood, which elapsed from 1649 to 1660, had been wholly dependent on the French court for support. Thus every sentiment of gratitude combined with their relationship to render them favourably disposed towards the French monarch, at whose hands they had received nought but kindness and good offices. Undoubtedly, the Duchess of Orleans was the connecting link between the courts; and after her death, we admit that Louis occasionally derogated from the chivalrous code of honour he had prescribed himself, by seeking to embarrass the government of his brother sovereign. We allude to his bribery of English members, the "patriot," Algernon Sydney, *par exemple*, for the purpose of discomposing Charles's government, and throwing him more completely into his power. Still, that Louis, notwithstanding these hostile demonstrations, entertained at heart a good feeling towards Charles is evident from the "Private Memoirs," penned by that monarch for his son;* which, as he never expected would be exposed to the public eye, may fairly be taken as an expression of his genuine opinions. He there says, speaking of the war he was forced to enter upon with England, on behalf of the Dutch, that "he charged the Queen Mother (of

* Private Memoirs of Louis XIV., written by himself.

England), Henrietta Maria, with the commission of going over to England with his compliments," and that "she was to assure the king (Charles II.) of the singular esteem which he entertained for him, and to tell him that he felt himself exceedingly afflicted by the resolution into which he was forced, by having particularly engaged his word; which seemed to the Queen Mother," he says, "so noble and so candid, that she not only promised to advise her son, but she even thought he ought to be obliged to me." "And, in fact," continues the monarch, "I may fairly say that this conversation was perfectly congenial to my thoughts; for in truth I had always entertained a very particular esteem for the King of England, as I am well persuaded that, with respect to the origin of this war, he was led more by the suffrages of his subjects than by his own private opinion; so that in the misunderstanding of our respective states, I had less reason to be offended with him, personally, than to pity him."* When it is considered that these expressions were the genuine sentiments of the French monarch, it cannot excite surprise that the Stuart kings preferred his alliance to that of the Emperors of Germany, the Kings of Spain, or the Princes of Holland, whom after-circumstances truly proved were their bitter and inveterate enemies; whereas, if adversity, as is said, be the test of friendship, what more noble than the behaviour of Louis Quatorze to James II.? Nor

* Private Memoirs of Louis XIV., written by himself, vol. i. p. 47.

was Louis actuated in his conduct solely by political motives, for that nobler considerations than mere state polity influenced him is witnessed even by Macaulay, who says, "In truth, Louis's conduct towards James was marked by a chivalrous generosity, such as had not embellished the annals of Europe since the Black Prince had stood behind the chair of King John, at the supper on the field of Poictiers."* So imprudently generous indeed was Louis, that, contrary to all rules of sound polity, he, on the death of James II., recognised his son as James III., thereby involving himself in an arduous contest with William, which, had not unforeseen circumstances intervened, would have ruined both his family and his country.

The future proved, at all events, the prescience of the Stuart princes, in allying themselves with France; for that country alone of the European powers, proved constant and faithful to them in adversity. Yet such was the hostility then existing between England and France, that this alliance, at once so judicious and beneficial, was regarded as pusillanimous and unnatural. It will easily be perceived with what difficulties the Stuarts had to contend, in governing a nation so naturally warlike, that thay deemed a pacific policy as timorous and degrading. These princes saw, which their subjects did not, the necessity of an intimate union with France; and has not posterity ratified their decision? What have we

* Macaulay's History of England, vol. ii. p. 601.

gained from the wars undertaken at the expense of so much blood and treasure by William III. and Queen Anne?—An immense national debt, without commensurate benefit; and for the result, that our country is (as we would fain hope) indissolubly allied with that very France we were then so madly bent on destroying. The truth is, the Stuart princes were infinitely in advance of the age in their ideas; they acted more in consonance with the received maxims of the present era than those of their own day; they lived in amity with their neighbours, and left the country unsaddled with debt;—but, say some, they thereby degraded it into a second-rate power, lived for the gratification of their personal pleasures, in disgraceful subserviency to France, and were as unmindful of the best interests of Europe as they were of their own country. To these objectors we would reply, that the statements so unhesitatingly hazarded by some historians (and on which these opinions are grounded), that Charles and James were only the satellites of Louis, are assertions as unwarranted as they are incapable of proof; for as our greatest historian, Hume, observes, "The popular notion that Charles sought to render himself absolute by the aid of Louis is evidently chimerical; for such a hope could scarcely have been entertained by a prince of Charles's penetration; and as to pecuniary subsidies (about which such an outcry was raised by the very men who were themselves in receipt of the wages of agitation), he surely spent much greater sums in

one season, during the second Dutch war, than were remitted him from France during the whole course of his reign. I am apt, therefore, to imagine that Charles was in this particular guided chiefly by inclination, and by a prepossession in favour of the French nation. He considered that people as gay, sprightly, polite, elegant, courteous, devoted to their prince, and attached to the Catholic faith, and for these reasons he cordially loved them. The opposite character of the Dutch rendered them the objects of his aversion;"*—and we may add, the ungenerous treatment he received from them during his exile, coupled with their servility when they heard of his expected restoration, must have greatly tended to induce in him this feeling of contempt for them. We contend that the alliance of France and England, far from being, as it was at the time considered, unnatural and revolting, was the true policy for this country to have adopted; for were not the Emperor, Spain, and Holland, let alone the minor powers, a sufficient counterpoise to France and England; moreover the latter, though nominally allied with France, seldom interfered in her continental conflicts, that substantially it was France alone confederated Europe confessed herself unable to oppose; and if it were so, on whom, single-handed France or united Europe, rested the disgrace? † In truth, the vaunted ambition of Louis

* Hume's History of England, vol. viii. p. 213.

† All Europe was confederate against France except Russia, Portugal,

XIV. was but a pretext for attacking him: what the adverse powers aimed at was the subjugation, or at least the dismemberment, of his dominions, and they were enraged with England, without whose aid they could not succeed, for refusing to join in the unhallowed crusade. That the policy of the Stuarts was the true policy for this country to have adopted; and that that of the Revolution, which inaugurated a diametrically opposite one, was uncalled for, imprudent and proved futile, is evident from the fact, that the Grand Alliance—which might be termed the culminating point of the new policy—and which embraced as allies, Great Britain, Austria, Portugal, Holland, and Sardinia, failed in effecting its object, though it enumerated in the list of its splendid victories those of Ramilies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, and Blenheim. This war, which commenced in 1702, by the rupture of the Peace of Ryswick, and which was terminated in 1713 by the Peace of Utrecht, cost this country a greater expenditure of blood and treasure than any it has been involved in, save that waged against Napoleon. And the humiliating result was, as Marshal Villars truly observes, "that after a war of fourteen years, during which the Emperor and the King of France had nearly quitted their respective capitals; Spain seen two rival kings in Madrid, and almost all the petty states of Italy changed

and some of the minor Italian states, and of these, Portugal afterwards acceded to the Grand Alliance.

their sovereigns, that peace was concluded almost on the very terms which might have been procured at the commencement of hostilities."*

The present alliance, moreover, of our Gracious Majesty and the Emperor Napoleon is a tacit condemnation of the policy of the Revolution. Only twice previously to this event has any cordiality prevailed between the two countries since the Revolution; once by the temporary alliance of the Regent Duke of Orleans with George I.; and again, when Louis XVIII. allied himself to George IV. Louis Philippe affected an intimacy with this country, but after circumstances demonstrated the insincerity of his professions. The two nations have certainly paid the penalty of their mutual antipathies; for, had it not been for the assistance rendered by France, our American colonies would still have remained to us, whilst failing our opposition, that Power might have vanquished the Continent under Napoleon. Thus it will be seen that as the antagonism between France and England was reciprocal, the antagonism between England and the Stuarts must have been reciprocal also; for whilst the former was opposed to and hated France, the latter, biassed by domestic ties, favoured and loved her. Charles I. was brother to Louis XIII; Charles II. and James II. were cousins to Louis XIV. These kings sided with France. William III., Anne, and the sovereigns

* Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 96.

of the House of Brunswick were unallied with that Power; and this simple fact sufficiently accounts for the wars we have been so continuously plunged in with her under these princes. Not that we would be understood to impute to the sovereigns personally this hostile spirit; for happily in our free country the sovereign cannot wage war in defiance of a large majority of the people: we mean, simply, that they have not been unwilling to act at the bidding of the *vox populi*, which the Stuarts, for the reasons above enumerated, were undoubtedly averse to. That the latter, as a race of monarchs, were the most amiable recorded in history, is evident, if we compare their characters with that of other sovereigns. Nor is this a bare assertion incapable of authentication by the testimony of our most competent historians. Tytler, Robertson, Pinkerton and Scott, though differing on other points, all agree on this; and with one voice proclaim the personal virtues of the Stuart Princes. The character of the founder of that dynasty, King Robert II. of Scotland, is one that has commanded even the unwilling praises of his enemies; for Buchanan, an historian notoriously inimical to him, yet in his summary of his character finds himself unable to condemn him. His language runs thus: "All say he (Robert II.) was a very good man, and in the arts of peace comparable with the best of kings. He administered justice diligently and impartially to all, he severely punished robberies,

in his actions he was constant, in his words faithful, he came to the government in troublous times, yet he settled things at home, appeased discords, and governed with great equity and justice."* Holinshed's testimony is to the same effect. He says: "He (Robert II.) was a prince of such constancy in promise that he seldom spake the word which he performed not; such an observer also was he of justice that whenever he removed from any place he would cause proclamation to be made that if any men or officers had taken away anything unpaid for, the party to whom the debt was due should come before him, and immediately he should be satisfied. He willingly heard the complaints of the poor, and was no less diligent to see their wrongs redressed."† Sir Walter Scott says, "Robert II. had all the virtues of a pacific sovereign, being just, benign, clement, and sagacious."‡ And in like terms, were it necessary, could we write of nearly all the succeeding Stuarts.

We proceed with our relation of the remaining members of the House of Stuart, commencing with Henry, Duke of Gloucester, the third son of Charles I., who was born 8th July, 1640, at Oatlands in Surrey. When quite a child Henry fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians, by whom he was consigned to the charge of the

* Buchanan, Book ix. p. 423.
† Holinshed's Chronicle.
‡ Scott's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 220.

Duke of Northumberland at Sion House. This was the little Prince whom his father took on his knees the eve of his execution, and exhorted so solemnly never to be made king while his brothers Charles and James were alive. The spirited rejoinder of the little fellow, "I would rather be torn in pieces first," evincing a courage and determination beyond his years, greatly comforted his afflicted father. The king's prescience was remarkable, for in 1654 the question of calling the Duke of Gloucester to the throne with limited powers was seriously debated, when the greatest compliment that could have been paid Charles I. was made by one of the republican orators, the regicide Henry Martin, who said, "If we are to have a king I would as soon have had the last gentleman as any on record."* The Duke of Gloucester was eventually released from confinement on the death of his sister Elizabeth, when he rejoined his banished relatives on the Continent. He always exhibited the greatest constancy in his adherence to the Protestant faith, and was once actually turned out of doors by his mother on refusing to join her communion. "He was a prince accomplished, religious, learned, valiant, and wise above his years; a dutiful and affectionate brother, a good master, and a kind friend."† He died, to the great grief of the nation; to whom he was fondly endeared for his many promising quali-

* Jesse's Court of England under the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 471.

† Pyne's Royal Residences, vol. i. p. 153.

ties, only three months after the Restoration, 24th September, 1660, of small-pox (that fated disease to the house of Stuart), in the twenty-first year of his age, and unmarried.

Mary, Princess Royal, eldest daughter of Charles I., was born 4th November, 1641, and christened after her great grandmother, Mary, Queen of Scots. She was married at the early age of ten years to William Henry, Prince of Orange. The misfortunes which even then loomed so threateningly over her devoted father necessitated this early alliance, which was one rather of compulsion than of choice, on the part of the parents of the juvenile bride. The Prince of Orange had originally made overtures for a younger daughter of Charles I., not daring to aspire to the hand of the Princess Royal, but the exigencies of her parent's circumstances became so imperative that she was, to the great joy of the expectant bridegroom, substituted for her sister. Mary having often declared she would never marry any one who was not a Protestant, a higher alliance could hardly have been secured for her, unless, indeed, she had married a Romanist. The Prince of Orange was then, although nominally Stadtholder of Holland, invested with very limited authority; and there is little doubt his original motive in desiring the alliance, was to augment his family influence by this connexion with the then powerful King of England. Unfortunately for Mary, her husband was cut off in the flower of his

days (27th October, 1650), leaving her a widow when only nineteen years of age. She had only a posthumous son, born shortly after his father's death, who afterwards rose to great notoriety in history as William III., King of England.

Mary was a very warm-hearted princess, and her affection for her family was ardent and sincere. It speaks much for the happiness of Charles I.'s domestic circle, that the little princess, though separated from her family before she had attained her tenth year, ever retained the liveliest affection for them; and when, after her father's death, her brothers became wanderers on the Continent, she spared no pains in rendering them all imaginary honours: the many squabbles she involved herself in with the States, in consequence of her espousal of their interests, being as amusing as they are creditable to her. She was to a great extent thwarted in all her measures for their benefit by her mother-in-law, Amelia of Orange, with whom she did not live on the best of terms. Her excursions with her brothers in Germany (consequent on their banishment from Holland by the ruling powers), and her visit to them at Paris, denote the unchangeableness of her love, and in fact, says Walker, "Her tender love and zeal to the king (Charles II.) in his afflictions deserve to be written in brass, and graven with the point of a diamond." The upholding of the fallen dignity of her family, and the maintenance of the Protestant religion,

were the two ruling principles of her existence. By her aunt Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, who resided at the Hague, she was ever considered as a daughter. One very vigorous dispute she had with the States, was consequent on the naming of her son; Mary wished him to be named Charles after his grandfather, while the States and her mother-in-law insisted on William; and Mary was reluctantly compelled to yield. In all the joy of the Restoration she shared, and how exultingly, may be judged from her enthusiastic character. Three months after that event, having arranged all her domestic affairs, she sailed for England, where the first intelligence that greeted her on landing was the death of her brother Henry. This unexpected shock greatly upset her: her meeting with her brothers—an event how fondly anticipated! was with tears; their presence, by recalling the image of the lamented Gloucester, brought vividly before her their loss. Whether it was that the shock which her nerves sustained on this occasion rendered her more liable to attack or not, we are unable to determine; but certain it is, that within three months after her brother's death she was attacked by the same fell disease. Owing mainly to the unskilful treatment of the physicians she succumbed to its fatal influence 24th of December, 1660, when only twenty-nine years of age. On her death-bed she commended her little boy, with affectionate earnestness, to the care of his

uncles. Could her fond heart have foreseen that his repayal of their kindnesses would be evinced by his effectuating the final dethronement of her family; that family, whose dignity it had been the one long effort of her life to uphold, she would—we feel assured—have rejoiced, that she, the pattern of all that is good, noble, chivalrous, devoted, and christian in our English princesses, was taken from the evil to come.

Elizabeth, second daughter of Charles I., was born 8th December, 1635, at St. James's Palace. She was the most gifted of that monarch's children, and great hopes were entertained by her parents of her forming some powerful alliance; desires which might possibly have been realized, had they not been frustrated by her early death. Originally she was destined for the bride of the Prince of Orange, had not her father's misfortunes compelled the substitution of her sister in her room. Parted in 1642 from her mother, she never again beheld her, as shortly afterwards she fell into the hands of the victorious Parliamentarians. This is the princess whose affecting interview with her father on the eve of his execution is recorded in history; her little brother Gloucester and herself being the only members of the unfortunate monarch's family who had the sad felicity accorded them of remaining with him until the last. On her father's death Elizabeth was confided to the charge of the Earl of Leicester; the sum of £2,500 per annum being

allotted for her maintenance. The cruel afflictions she had suffered, in beholding almost before her eyes, the execution of a much-loved parent, visibly affected her spirits; but what gave the death-blow to her susceptible heart, was the being removed by her gaolers to Carisbrooke Castle, the scene of his imprisonment and attempted escape from captivity. The depression this event caused her, coupled with a cold she took on the journey, proved too much for her debilitated frame. She died there 19th September, 1650, in the fifteenth year of her age and unmarried, and was buried privately at Newport.

Henrietta, youngest daughter of Charles I., and eventually through failure of her elder brother's and sister's issue, his heiress, was born 10th June, 1644, at Exeter, amid all the din and tumult created by the civil wars. Such were the exigencies of her royal mother's circumstances, that within a fortnight of her birth, she was compelled to abandon her infant babe and flee to France, where Henrietta herself was shortly afterwards conveyed by the astuteness of her governess, Lady Dalkeith, who managed successfully to elude all the Parliamentary espionage; and there she was educated by her mother, very much to the detriment of her future rights as a Roman Catholic. The Queen pleaded for this manifest contravention of her deceased husband's wishes, his promise, that their youngest born should be educated in her mother's faith; but there is great reason to doubt the veracity of this statement. At the

early age of sixteen Henrietta espoused her cousin Philip, Duke of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV. Her personal appearance at this period is thus described by Madame de Motteville: "She was," says that lady, "of moderate height, and her shape, which was not faultless, did not then appear as imperfect as it really was; her beauty was not of the most perfect order, but her whole person, although she was not well made, was still very engaging on account of her charming manners. She had a very delicate and white complexion, mixed with a natural carnation, like the blending of the rose and the jessamine; her eyes were small, but soft and brilliant, her nose was not bad, her mouth was rosy, and her teeth as white and well shaped as could be desired; but her face, which was too long, and her thinness, seemed to threaten a rapid decay of her beauty. She dressed herself and her hair in a manner which was very becoming."*

Henrietta's marriage was not a happy one, although originally quite a love-match. Her husband was not devoid of good qualities, but he was weak-minded, ridiculously vain of his personal appearance, jealous of his importance in the State, and, like all weak-minded men, governed by his favourites. Henrietta's talents, unfortunately for her, were very superior to her husband's, and the deference Louis XIV. evinced for her political opinions, wonderfully disquieted Monsieur. Still

* De Motteville's Memoirs of Anne of Austria.

their first few years of married life passed with comparative happiness, until the banishment by the king of Philip's favourite, the Chevalier de Lorraine, renewed their political dissensions; as Philip thought that if Henrietta was all powerful with his brother, she could have obtained the Chevalier's recall had she desired it. Pending these differences, Henrietta was despatched by the French king on a confidential mission to her brother, Charles II., when so skilfully did she manage matters, that within a week she brought them to a triumphant issue. Her success was, however, her ruin; the Chevalier de Lorraine, despairing of recovering his influence whilst she lived, and seeing the vast increase of power she had acquired, leagued with the Marquis D'Effiat, a member of the duke's household, and also an enemy of the duchess, to effect his purpose by poison. A subtle mixture containing a deadly preparation was forwarded by the Chevalier to his confidant from Rome; when the Marquis seizing his opportunity rubbed the contents in a goblet from which Henrietta was accustomed to drink succory water; this was on the 29th of June, 1670: on the following day Madame was a corpse. Henrietta herself fully believed she was poisoned, and constantly asserted so to the attendants who surrounded her, who, however, could not bring themselves to believe it. Louis XIV. and his Queen, being hastily summoned from Versailles, visited the dying princess; there they found the

assembled company apparently unaffected, though the hand of death was even then to be seen visibly impressed upon her features. She noticed their indifference with tears in her eyes; the king seeming to be the only person who was affected; Monsieur was as unconcerned as usual. The English ambassador, Sir Ralph Montague, being admitted, she desired the most loving messages to her brother, Charles II., saying, "You see the sad condition I am in, I am going to die; how I pity the king, my brother, for I am sure he loses the person in the world that loves him best." To his inquiries whether she believed herself poisoned she only shrugged her shoulders; drawing a ring off her finger she begged him to present it to her brother as a token of her dying love. She repeatedly asked for a Curé to whom she could confess. Shortly before her death the celebrated Bossuet, Bishop of Comdon, arrived; but she had already confessed to M. Feuillet, a Jansenist priest, a good and pious, though exceedingly austere man. Bossuet says, "I found her fully sensible, speaking and doing everything with ease, without ostentation, effort, or violence, but so well and properly, with so much courage and piety, that I am yet transported with it; from the very first moment of feeling herself struck she spoke only of God, without evincing the least regret, although she knew that her death would be very agreeable to God, as her life had been very glorious by the friendship and confidence

of two great kings," (alluding to Charles II. and Louis XIV.) She assisted herself as much as she could in taking courageously all the remedies, but she never uttered a word of complaint at their want of effect, only saying it was proper to die in due form.* It was about two o'clock in the morning of the 30th of June, that convulsive shrieks were heard through the ancient Palace of St. Cloud of, "Madame is dying, Madame is dead!" And so it was, the unfortunate, highly-gifted Henrietta had ceased to exist within twelve hours after the commencement of her attack. She was buried with all imaginary funereal honours at the Abbey of St. Denis; that favourite resting-place of the French Royal Family. The king, queen, and all the princes and princesses were present at the solemnity, whilst the eloquent Bossuet, preaching the funeral discourse, terminated it with those striking and applicable words of Scripture, "The king shall weep, the princes shall be desolate, and the hands of the people shall fail with grief and astonishment."† Henrietta left issue two daughters, Mary Louisa (some particulars of whom will be found in the biography of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans), who died childless; and Anne, afterwards Queen of Sardinia, whose life as the Third

* Bossuet's Oraison Funèbre de Henriette Anne D'Angleterre, Duchesse D'Orléans. Green's Princesses of England, vol. vi. Life of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans.

† Bossuet's Oraison Funèbre de Henriette Anne D'Angleterre, Duchesse D'Orléans, pp. 85-6.

member of the Royal Family excluded the crown of England by the act of succession, forms a separate memoir of itself.

The life of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, terminates our relation of the House of Stuart. It is the descendants of this lady alone who concentre in themselves the pretensions of our ancient royal line. The remaining princes and princesses to be treated of belong to the junior dynasty of Stuart Simmeren; the progenitrix of whom was Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, sister of Charles I., and the ancestress of our present gracious Majesty. This queen, the only daughter of James I. and his wife, Anne of Denmark, was born at Falkland Palace in Scotland, in the year 1596. Into the detail of her history, which is exceedingly interesting, space precludes us entering; moreover, it will be found minutely chronicled, both in Green's "Princesses of England," and Benger's "Queen of Bohemia." Suffice it to say, that she married in 1613 Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine; and that her husband, imprudently accepting the Bohemian crown (proffered him by the Protestant party, then in revolt against the Emperor Ferdinand II., of Austria), was ultimately vanquished by that prince, and had the further misfortune of being expelled from his own electoral dominions. Elizabeth and he then took refuge in Holland, in which country he died, A.D. 1632. Elizabeth remained there until the Restoration, when she came over to England, and took up

her residence at Sion House, Strand, the abode of her chivalrous friend, Lord Craven, who was, by some, but incorrectly, believed to be her husband. This removal she did not long survive, dying there, February 13th, 1662, in the sixty-sixth year of her age. She left issue, besides three children who died in infancy, six sons and four daughters, viz.—Henry Frederick, Charles Louis, Robert, Maurice, Edward, Philip, Elizabeth, Louisa, Henrietta—and Sophia. Of these, the eldest son, Henry Frederick, named after his uncle, Henry, Prince of Wales, and his father, was born January 2nd, 1614. He was considered by his contemporaries a youth of great promise, but unfortunately his career was short. He was drowned crossing Haarlem Mere, in Holland, the boat he was in being upset, January 7th, 1629, when in the sixteenth year of his age.

Charles Louis, the second son, become by his brother's death his father's heir, was born at Heidelberg, December 22nd, 1617. This Prince was, in every respect, a contrast to his deceased brother, Henry Frederick, and indeed to all his family—his conduct as son, husband, brother, and nephew being every way contemptible. To his illustrious mother, in particular, his behaviour was as mean as it was revolting. Restored by the peace of Westphalia (1648) to his electoral dominions, he was avaricious enough to engross all the revenues for himself, whilst he suffered his mother and sisters to remain in absolute want, dependent on the precarious charity

of foreign princes. During the civil commotions consequent on the disputes between his uncle, Charles I. and his Parliament, Charles Louis came over to England, in which country he is generally known as "The Prince Palatine." Here he scrupled not espousing the side of the Parliament, on account of the pecuniary advantages accruing to himself, although his brothers—Rupert and Maurice—were fighting under his uncle's banners in the opposite ranks. To the heart-breaking reproofs of his mother, and the remonstrances of his other relatives, he turned alike a deaf ear; his conduct affording a striking proof of that excessive regard for his personal interest which always actuated him. "Though he stopped short of murder," remarks the Baroness de Bury, "the calculations which led him to adopt the side of the question that could not be his own, were the same that actuated his great-great-grandson, Philip Egalité."* Charles Louis waited on his uncle, Charles I., on the eve of his execution, and requested a parting interview with him; but this was refused him by the king, partly on account of the pressure of time, and partly because he cared not again to see one so nearly related to him, who had played so dastardly a part. A bad son seldom makes a good husband; and this was fully exemplified in the fate of Charles Louis's wife, the unfortunate Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel, who, after submitting to every

* Baroness de Bury's Life of the Princess Palatine.

species of insult and indignity, was at length formally compelled to separate from him, which she had no sooner done than he contracted a morganatic or left-handed alliance with his mistress, the Countess of Dagenfeld: by this woman he had issue a numerous family, who were, of course, regarded as illegitimate. Charles Louis dragged on an unenvied existence till the year 1682, when he died, leaving behind him an only son and daughter, Charles Louis, born 1651, who succeeded his father in his dominions, but died, succession perishing 1685; and Elizabeth Charlotte, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, whose life, as the Fourth member of the Royal Family excluded the English throne by the passing of the Act of Succession, forms the subject of a separate biography. As we have freely remarked on the dark points in Charles Louis's character, it is but fair to give him credit for the good he was permitted to be the unconscious instrument in accomplishing. This was, the maintenance of Protestantism, under the Calvinistic form, in his states, of which faith he professed himself an ardent votary. As a Romanist was but too soon to succeed him, who overthrew all his ancestors had so zealously laboured to effect, his reign was long remembered by his people, as one in which they had enjoyed, and been protected in the exercise of, their religious liberties.

Robert, more commonly known as Rupert, the Queen of Bohemia's favourite son, was born 17th December, 1619, at Prague, during his parents'

short-lived prosperity in that country, and named in compliment to its ancient kings. As Prince Rupert, the gay and dashing cavalier, his career is so well known that it would be waste of time recapitulating it. Coming over to England when quite a young man, he adopted it as his native country, as, excepting during the temporary usurpation of Cromwell, he always resided here. By his uncle, Charles I., he was created, in reward for his eminent services, Duke of Cumberland, Earl of Holdernesse, and Baron Kendal. Had he lived two years longer, he would have succeeded his nephew as Elector Palatine, a dignity he was by no means ambitious of enjoying. Prince Robert died at London, 29th November, 1682. He was never married, although there are recorded several ladies of princely dignity who were willing to receive his addresses. The gallant Lothario's courage, however, seems to have failed him at the decisive moment, for once at least he set out with the intention of demanding the lady's hand, and returned without doing so.

Maurice, the Queen of Bohemia's fourth son, was born at Custrin, in Prussia, during his parents' direst extremity, on the sixth day of January, 1620. In the year 1642 he came over to England with his brother Robert, and enlisted under the banners of his uncle. His career, as "Prince Maurice," is well known. He was shipwrecked in a hurricane off the West Indies, whilst in command of a remnant of the English fleet, which had remained

steadfast in loyalty to Charles II., A.D. 1654. He was never married.

Edward, the fifth son of the Queen of Bohemia, was born in Holland, the 6th of October, 1625. He was early sent with his younger brother Philip to Paris for his education, a circumstance which, though trivial in itself, not only affected his future life, but governed in a direct degree the destinies of his descendants. As the father of three ladies who were excluded the throne of England for being Catholics, Edward is decidedly a person of more importance than the other members of his family, though so little is said of him in history. This omission is mainly to be ascribed to his peculiarly inoffensive disposition, for he interfered so little in politics, that, although his wife was, without exception, one of the most distinguished diplomatistes of the day, his name is never mentioned in these transactions. This wife, to gain whom, Edward, mindless of the earnest entreaties of his family, embraced the Romish faith, was Anne de Gonzague, second daughter of the Duke of Nevers and Mantua, one of the petty Italian potentates. The appearance of this lady is said to have been eminently graceful and majestic, and her manner and address those of a queen. What wonder that so fascinating a woman should have captivated the affections of an ardent susceptible youth like Edward; and that to obtain this object of his love he should have renounced the faith of his childhood,

to which his family had hitherto so tenaciously clung, rather than abandon her? Whether he would have done so could he have foreseen that it would deprive his descendants of the triple crown of Britain, it is difficult to determine; but it must be remembered that his abjuration was, at the time, an event apparently most conducive to his temporal interests. From being penniless, obscure, and despised, he found himself courted, respected, and in affluent circumstances; for, glorying in the conversion of this son of a Calvinist queen, king and courtiers vied with each other in caressing him, and in drawing the happiest omens from what they termed this auspicious event for the Palatine House; expectations unfortunately destined to be speedily realized. Edward himself ascribed his conversion to the arguments of Amable de Bourseil, a learned priest; but even supposing such to have been the case, there can be no doubt that it was the fair eyes of Anne de Gonzague which primarily influenced him to enter the arena of controversy. It was Edward's wife, who, under the designation of the Princess Palatine, played so prominent a part in the stirring times of the Fronde, as the confidential agent of Anne of Austria, in her negotiations with Cardinal de Retz, who was also a friend of the Princess Anne's. In them she is said to have displayed so much astuteness and sincerity that the cardinal deliberately expressed it as his opinion "that Queen Elizabeth had not more capacity for

conducting affairs of state than she had." "I have seen her," continues he, "in times of faction, I have seen her in the cabinet, and everywhere she was to be depended on for sincerity."* We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of the romantic career of the Princess Anne, in noticing those of her daughters. Prince Edward died at Paris the 13th of March, 1663, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He left issue three daughters, Louisa, Anne, and Benedicta, the eldest of whom dying young left three children her representatives; whilst the two younger, Anne, and Benedicta, were the Eighth and Ninth members of the Royal Family of England who were excluded the throne for being Catholics.

Philip, sixth son of the Queen of Bohemia, was born in Holland the 16th of September, 1627. He was sent when young to Paris with his brother Edward for his education, but the premature perversion of the latter prince so alarmed his family for Philip that he was instantly recalled on that event. Charles Louis, who, as head of the family, specially patronised the younger branches, next took Philip under his protection, and being hand and glove then with the Puritan party, obtained an order from them appointing Philip commander of a fleet which he was empowered to raise for them at Venice. Unforeseen obstacles, however, prevented the fulfilment of this plan; for the Republicans

* Memoirs of De Retz.

reflecting on maturer consideration that Philip was young and untrusted, and that possibly his brothers', Rupert's, and Maurice's influence, might counteract Charles Louis's, revoked the appointment they had made, and refused to fulfil their engagement. Nor were their fears groundless, for there is little doubt, that had Philip succeeded in raising a fleet, he would have been unable to withstand his family's entreaties, and would have carried it over to the king, his uncle; for Philip was not of the sordid calculating nature of Charles Louis, but on the contrary, a high-spirited chivalrous youth, like his brother Rupert. Failing this appointment, Philip retired to his mother's residence in Holland; but here his stay was destined to be short. Becoming involved in some foolish quarrel with a French officer, whom, in an ungovernable fit of passion, he assaulted in the public streets, Philip, enraged by some fresh insult, plunged his dagger into his antagonist's bosom. The unfortunate man fell mortally wounded, when Philip repenting his temerity, and perceiving too late the danger he had incurred, saved himself by a hasty flight. The only excuse which can be offered for this action, which throws a dark shade over Prince Philip's character, is, that he acted under circumstances of great provocation, and that the attack was evidently unpremeditated. His mother loaded him with invectives and reproaches, but Charles Louis, who, strange to say, pretended to the character of a saint, openly

justified his guilty brother.* Philip next engaged in the civil wars of France, adopting the party of the Franco-Spaniards, in whose service he fell at the battle of Rhethol, A.D. 1655. He was never married.

The Princess Elizabeth, or as she is more generally styled, the Princess Palatine, the eldest of the Queen of Bohemia's four daughters, was born at her father's ancient palace of Heidelberg, on the 26th day of December, 1618. But, alas! those palmy days of splendour during which she saw the light remorseless time was fast hurrying away from the Palatine family. During the stormy period which intervened while her parents were contending for the Bohemian crown, Elizabeth was confided to the care of her grandmother, the talented Juliana of Nassau, but the fortunes of war speedily rendering Heidelberg an unsafe residence, Juliana was compelled to flee into Holland with her infant charge, where she rejoined the other members of her family. Elizabeth has acquired a wide-world renown as the most learned princess whom royalty has given Europe; and justly does her biographer observe, "Her noble descent, the blood of the Nassau and Stuart races, might alone render her illustrious; her learning and high intelligence, in an age when learning and research were unknown to the fair sex, and to be met with only among bearded professors, would equally make her name celebrated; but the

* Benger's Queen of Bohemia. Green's Princesses of England.

high esteem in which, both for virtue and genius, she was held by such men as Descartes, Leibnitz, and Malebranche, as well as a host of minor literati, must for ever render her an object of admiration in foreign lands."* And yet has Elizabeth a higher claim to the homage of Englishmen, for—though fallen from her high estate, poor, friendless, and unaided—she manfully fought the battle of the Protestant faith; and by example, no less than by precept, so successfully instilled its principles into her younger brothers and sisters, as earned for them, though their spiritual protectress foresaw it not, the glorious destiny of sovereigns of Britain;—for decidedly to the Princess Palatine is primarily due the praise of having, in conjunction with her illustrious mother, thoroughly imbued her family with her ardent Protestant feelings. Yes! when others shrunk from the contest, or, blinded by worldly interest, yielded to their adversaries, Elizabeth still maintained her ground, and refused to concede an iota of her principles—for the Protestant faith sacrificed she relatives and friends—for the Protestant faith renounced she earthly greatness—and for the Protestant faith would she have laid down her life. Truly did she pourtray in her character the impress of the footsteps of her Divine Master; for, with all who bore his name and who shadowed forth in their lives any resemblance to the great Original, she loved to consort and associate. Rare example of liberality

* Baroness de Bury's Princess Palatine.

in an age which persecuted mercilessly all who differed from them, Elizabeth held out the right hand of fellowship to all, who, whatever their creed or denomination, loved the Lord Jesus in sincerity. Perhaps a Roman Catholic was the only Christian she felt an instinctive repugnance to; but, if the unparalleled hardships which her family had undergone from that party are considered, some excuse may be found for this semi-political dislike; though, be it recollected, the most intimate of her friends, the philosopher Descartes, was a zealous and uncompromising Romanist.

It has been said that Elizabeth renounced all hopes of earthly grandeur rather than waver in her adherence to the Protestant faith; and this her renunciation of Ladislas the Fourth, king of Poland, who afterwards married her sister-in-law's sister, Mary de Gonzague, sufficiently proves. The history of this abortive attempt on the part of Ladislas (who was one of the greatest sovereigns Poland has produced) to win Elizabeth at the expense of her religious principles will be found minutely chronicled in the Baroness de Bury's "Life of the Princess Palatine." Suffice it to say, that Ladislas became so enamoured of his elected bride, that he would have married her, *malgré* their differing faiths, could he have gained the consent of the Estates of Poland; but this, after wearisome and futile efforts, he could never accomplish; for Poland has always been celebrated for its intense Catholicism and hatred of

dissidents, and even the final death throes of that unfortunate country, before its incorporation with the neighbouring powers in 1795, were provoked and originated in these unhappy dissensions. The matrimonial alliance with Ladislas having proved abortive, Elizabeth was next courted by Prince Waldemar, a younger brother of the King of Denmark; but this negotiation also came to nothing, principally from the opposition Waldemar's family made to his marrying a portionless Princess.* How blind and ignorant men often are in their fancied wisdom and foresight is proved by this event; for had Waldemar married Elizabeth, and had children, they, in preference to the Princess Sophia's, would have succeeded to the crown of Great Britain. So that a younger brother of Denmark was forbidden to marry an illustrious English princess on account of her fancied poverty, when in reality he would have espoused, had she lived long enough, the future queen of England! With her mother the Princess Palatine is said, but we think unfoundedly, not to have lived happily; for their differences, if so they may be designated, appear solely to have arisen from their very opposite dispositions, and probably the ex-queen's poverty was the only cause of their separation. This occurred in 1653, when, in company with Sophia, Elizabeth left the maternal roof, and went to reside with her brother, Charles Louis, at Heidelberg. There she was so unhappy at

* Green's Princesses of England. Life of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

witnessing his treatment of his wife, that, powerless to redress Charlotte's grievances, she determined on removing with her to Cassel. This she effected in 1662, after a nine years' residence at Heidelberg; when Charlotte of Hesse, wearied out with her husband's tyranny, escaped from what had long been a prison to her, and, accompanied by her sister, took refuge at Hesse-Cassel; and there Elizabeth remained until her election as Abbess of Hervord, a Protestant town and chapter of Germany, having all the immunities of a free city, by no means an unenviable dignity for a princess so destitute as Elizabeth. It was here, among other celebrities, the new abbess became acquainted with the Quaker Penn, with whom she formed a close and intimate friendship. Her mind yearning for spiritual things was charmed with the simplicity and piety of this heavenly-minded man, who, disdaining the conventionalities and fashions of a world in which the Palatine Princess had played an important though not a conspicuous part, displayed to her the beauty of religion in its truth and power; for Penn's was an earnest and practical faith, sanctifying and governing all his actions, and speaking in unmistakeable language the depth and sincerity of his convictions. This reality and persistency won the heart of the gentle abbess of Hervord, who, although she refrained from any public profession of the Quaker tenets, openly espoused the interests of that persecuted sect. With Penn she corresponded

to the last, the earnestness of her letters to him bespeaking her progress in the heavenward course. The last meeting of the missionary and his royal convert took place in 1677, only three years before the death of the pious abbess. Her final words to her friend were, "Remember me, though I live so far away from you, and shall never see you more,"—(was this a presentiment?)—"I thank you for the few happy days we have passed together, and know and am certain that although I am by position exposed to many temptations, my soul feels a strong desire for what is best." And that she did in reality attain this happy state may be judged from a passage in one of her letters, where she says, "I can with all truth and sincerity say, 'Thy will be done, O Lord,' for I really wish it were so; but I cannot yet say with entire truth that I possess that entire devotion which is agreeable in his sight—my house and my heart are ever open to those who love him." And so will we conclude our notice of this gentle princess, who, as her biographer remarks, may, rarest of all praises, be truly described as "Invicta in omni fortuna."* Elizabeth died at Hervord, in the abbey of which she lies interred, 11th February, 1680, in the sixty-third year of her age, and fourteenth of her reign as its abbess.

Louisa, second daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, was the Tenth Member of the Royal Family who was excluded the throne of England for her

* Baroness de Bury's Princess Palatine.

adherence to Catholicism; and as such is noticed in the order of succession.

Henrietta, third daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, was born in 1626. She married, May 1650, George Ragotsky, Prince of Transylvania, and died within three months of her nuptials, in September of the same year, aged twenty-four. But little is recorded of this princess in history. She is said to have inherited all the amiable qualities of her mother, "the Queen of Hearts," without possessing the abilities and talents of her elder sisters.

Sophia, fourth and youngest daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, the mother of our George I., and the princess on whom the English crown was settled by Act of Parliament, was born in Holland, the 16th of October, 1630. She married, 1658, Ernest Augustus, titular Bishop of Osnabruck, and youngest brother of the reigning Duke of Hanover; a very derogatory alliance, as it was considered at the time. This match was brought about by Sophia's eldest brother, the Elector Palatine, who, as he had the maintenance of his sister, was not very particular as to how he disposed of her; although Sophia, of all his relatives, was dignified by his peculiar regard. The Queen of Bohemia, their mother, strongly opposed what she considered so unsuitable an alliance for her youngest child; but without effect, for Charles Louis was not the one to retrograde when once he had made up his mind.

Sophia's marriage, however, turned out a more prosperous one than could have been anticipated; for her husband's three elder brothers all dying without heirs male, he ultimately succeeded to the Duchy of Hanover, and in 1692 even received a further accession of dignity by the transfer of his duchy into an electorate. For this last increase of power he was indebted to the good will of the reigning emperor, Leopold I., who was determined on rewarding the services Ernest Augustus had rendered him. Great opposition was raised at the time by his brother electors to his advancement, but they ultimately withdrew their opposition. In 1680 was established the right of primogeniture, by which the crown was to descend only to males; and it was this law which enforced the separation of Hanover from England, which occurred at the accession of Her Gracious Majesty, who, as daughter of the fourth son of George III., ascended the throne of Great Britain; whilst Ernest Augustus, though that monarch's fifth son, acceded to that of Hanover. Sophia is said to have been one of the most fascinating women of her age, and to have combined with "the attraction of beauty and talent an elegant form, an understanding richly cultivated, learning embellished with elegance, and wit polished by the Graces;" and so charmed was one of her admirers with her various perfections, that he openly declared there was not another woman to be found "*point d'esprit plus charmant*" than Sophia. She was in truth a

genuine Stuart, and fully merited the eulogistic praise accorded her of being "the most perfect lady in Europe." She was particularly ambitious of living to become Queen of England, and often declared that could she live to have "Sophia, Queen of Great Britain" inscribed on her coffin, she would die content; but this last aspiration was not destined to be realized by the great-grand-daughter of Mary, Queen of Scots. She died rather suddenly, only six weeks before Queen Anne (whom, had she outlived, she would have succeeded on the English throne), 8th June, 1714, whilst walking in the gardens of her palace of Herenhausen. It was a stormy day, and the Electress being caught in a shower of rain, hastened to retrace her homeward steps, when on entering the palace, she was observed to stagger and suddenly fall forwards; her attendants hastened to her aid, but in vain; her spirit had fled its earthly mansion, almost before her retainers were aware she was attacked; her advanced age, for she was eighty-four, renders it less surprising she should never have rallied. By some her death was ascribed to the agitation caused her by receipt of a letter of rebuke from Queen Anne, but this cannot certainly be determined;—it might, or might not have been the case, for at her time of life any excitement might have proximately occasioned death; and the aged Electress could ill brook to be thwarted in her political plans. Sophia was truly honourable in her conduct amid all the trying scenes through which

she was called to pass, relative to the disputed possession of the British crown; and it was only in compliance with the reiterated entreaties of Parliament that she consented to receive it at their hands. It has seldom been sufficiently considered what a concatenation of fortuitous circumstances must have been required to raise the Princess Sophia, the youngest of the Queen of Bohemia's thirteen children, to the thrones of Great Britain and Hanover: to men, indeed, it must have seemed almost an impossibility; yet so the unerring Disposer of events, who holds all things in the hollow of his hand, had determined it; and this obscure, penniless daughter of an exiled, beggared queen was chosen by Him to rule the destinies of the mightiest nation in the world; her husband also being called, though in the more natural course of events, to govern his native country. And was it by chance that all this was accomplished? Rather let it be ascribed to God, who so wonderfully and gloriously ruled these events, that they who sought to upraise themselves were debased, whilst those who humbled themselves were exalted; insomuch that the constancy of Sophia in adhering firmly to the faith her illustrious mother had instilled into her mind, was destined, even in this world, to meet with its reward; whilst the tergiversations of other members of her family, who in the blindness of their hearts renounced their ancestral faith and embraced the adverse tenets of the Church of Rome, hoping thereby to improve their

political prospects, were doomed to be as surely disappointed. Sophia's husband expired some years previously to herself in 1698. Her issue by him were six sons and one daughter, viz.—George I., King of England, Frederick, Maximilian, Charles, Christian, Ernest, and Sophia, of whom all, excepting George and Sophia, died unmarried.

The history of Sophia terminates our cursory notice of the careers of the Princes and Princesses of the Houses of Stuart and Stuart-Simmeren; the children of Charles I., King of England, and Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia; and from whom directly emanated the Ten Members of the Royal Family who were excluded the British throne by the Act of Succession. How it came to pass that all the descendants of "the Martyr King" and "the Defendress of the Protestant faith," excepting one, abandoned the principles for which their ancestors had suffered "all things," has been also shown; for of the princes of the House of Stuart (the six children of Charles I.) who would take precedence in the order of succession of those of Stuart-Simmeren, three, viz. King Charles II., Henry, Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth, died issueless; while Mary, Princess Royal, had only one son, William III., who also died, succession perishing; so that by a singular fatality it happened that whilst the four Protestant children of Charles I. died *sine prole*, the two Catholic ones, James II. and Henrietta of Orleans, had each families; that of

James II. enumerated (as before mentioned), a son and three daughters, named respectively, James, Mary, Anne, and Louisa. Of these, James, Prince of Wales, his father's heir, was excluded the throne of Great Britain by the base fiction of his being a supposititious child; a fallacy which only the malignity of party faction could have devised or successfully imposed on its followers; but which, for the credit of human nature, has long been abandoned by its pretended dupes as an untenable theory. This prince, after the abortive attempts of 1708-15-19, seems to have abandoned all idea of regaining his lost inheritance, though the brilliant heroism of his son, the daring Young Pretender, in 1745 cast a meteoric gleam of splendour over his fallen cause. "For him alone," touchingly remarks Madame de Maintenon, in one of her letters, "is there no revolution, but an eternal continuance of misfortunes." James married, 1719, the Princess Clementine, grand-daughter of Poland's great warrior-monarch, John Sobieski; by whom he had issue two sons, Charles, born 31st December, 1720, and Henry, born 6th March, 1725; the former of whom is immortalized in our annals as the Gallant Hero of 1745. That his conduct in this undertaking was not the rash daring of a heedless boy (as his maligners have so pertinaciously and for a time so successfully led his countrymen to imagine), but the maturely digested plan of a sagacious and chivalric captain, is proved by recent authorities;

for it now appears from the writings of Lord Mahon and others that had Charles marched on from Derby, London would have fallen into his power, as six thousand men only, posted on Finchley Common, were prepared to defend the metropolis and crown of George II.,—that the ministers were in consternation—it being reported that the Duke of Newcastle shut himself up for a day, debating whether he should not be the first to proffer his allegiance to the expected victor; that the crown jewels were packed up in a vessel lying in the Thames, awaiting the word of command to sail for the shores of Hanover; and that a large number, if not a majority of the Londoners, not excluding even the mayor and aldermen, were Jacobites, and only tarrying the advent of their chief to declare for "bonnie Prince Charlie;" the "Prince Regent," as he signed himself in his proclamations to his intended subjects.* Whether Charles's success would have proved as complete as has been confidently predicted, it is now impossible to decide, for, as he did not march on to London, but on the contrary (although from no fault of his own), retraced his steps into Scotland, all these successes, if such they would have proved, were lost to him; and thus for ever vanished from the hapless Stuarts the chance of recovering their ancient kingdoms. Prince Charles married late in life (1773) the

* Vide Lord Mahon's History of England, and Klose's Memoirs of Prince Charles Stuart.

Princess Louisa Stolberg; but this union did not conduce to his domestic happiness. By it he had no issue, and dying at Rome, 30th January, 1788 (the anniversary of the execution of his unfortunate grand-father), he was succeeded in his nominal honours by his brother Henry, who in 1747 had taken orders in the Romish Church, and was now Cardinal of York. This Prince, on his accession to the British throne, had medals cast in his honour, on which were inscribed "Henry, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, but not by the will of men." This harmless assumption of power was the only step Henry took in maintenance of his claim to the regal dignity, which, unlike his father and his brother, he never publicly assumed. From this he was disqualified by his position as a member of the Romish Priesthood and Sacred College of Cardinals, which forbad his assumption of a temporal dignity without a dispensation or renunciation of his benefices. In his old age Henry was despoiled by the French Republicans (those insatiable locusts who swallowed up all that came in their way), of the riches and curiosities which still remained in the possession of this last-surviving descendant of James II., which are said to have been of considerable value; and so reduced was he by these misfortunes that he gladly accepted a pension, liberally accorded him by his successful rival George III.; the good feeling and nobility of soul thus displayed by the actual and titular sovereigns

being alike honourable to both.* Henry died at Rome, where, with his father and his brother, he lies interred, in June, 1807. In the Vatican may be seen monuments to the memory of James III., Charles III., and Henry IX., Kings of England, melancholy inscriptions to departed titular greatness.

Thus perished, with Henry Benedict, Cardinal of York, the last surviving descendant of James II., whom members of the English Houses of Parliament, by a solemn farce, are still called upon to abjure. It is a farce, for what can be more ridiculous than to forswear homage to the descendants of James II. when none exist? for illegitimate scions are nonentities in the genealogy of royalty; and whether they exist or not is immaterial, as, probably, natural descendants of nearly all our monarchs may still be found. In point of fact, if illegitimate heirs of James II. do exist (a Count of Albany has been sometimes mentioned), they descend from Prince Charles's mistress, Clementina Walkenshaw, whose children, even had Charles married her, and been king, *de facto*, would have been incapacitated, as the offspring of a commoner, from inheriting the regality of their father.

The inconsistency of abjuring the descendants of James II. when none exist, has lately been the subject of much and rather angry discussion in Parliament, but herein the error seems to lie in retaining the

* Klose's Memoirs of Prince Charles Stuart.

Oath of Abjuration and limiting its application to the descendants of James II., when those of Charles I. should be clearly substituted; for if this were done, there would be no incongruity in the Act. If it be necessary to abjure the Catholic Stuarts, and there is no reason why it should be less imperative now than it has ever been, it is plainly the descendants of Charles I., and not James II., who should be abjured; and this simple alteration in the oath should in equity satisfy those so seemingly anxious to get rid of it, as well as those so desirous, at whatever cost, of retaining it in its present form.

King James II.'s three daughters, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and the Princess Louisa, all died issueless: so that James's issue having failed with Henry of York, the representation of the Stuarts became vested in the descendants of Charles I.'s youngest daughter and eventual Heiress, Henrietta of Orleans. This princess had only two daughters, Mary Louisa, and Anne, but the former of these princesses, one of the most loveable recorded in history, and who became the bride of the imbecile Charles II. of Spain, died, succession perishing (1689); so that in her younger sister Anne (who was the third princess of the Royal Family excluded the Throne of England for being a Catholic) ultimately vested the sole representation of the House of Stuart; and in her descendants accordingly has it continued, even to this day. In her place in the

succession will be found a notice of the Princess Anne of Orleans and her descendants.

There now remains only the Princes of the House of Stuart-Simmeren, whose proximity to the reigning dynasty of the Stuarts forms an exact parallel to that afforded by the House of Orleans to the Bourbons. It will be recollected that of this family (the children of Elizabeth of Bohemia) seven died, succession perishing. These were Henry Frederick, Robert, Maurice, Philip, Elizabeth, Louisa, and Henrietta. Three only had issue, viz. Charles Louis, Edward, and Sophia. Of these Charles Louis, the Elector Palatine, had only a son and a daughter, of whom Charles Louis, the son, died, succession perishing 1685; whilst Elizabeth Charlotte, the daughter, became the wife of Philip, Duke of Orleans, and by so doing, though she knew it not, renounced her future position as Queen of England. Elizabeth Charlotte was the senior Princess of the House of Stuart-Simmeren who was excluded the British Throne, and the fourth Member of the Royal Family in succession who refused the fair inheritance proffered her. The history of this princess will be found in her place in the order of succession.

Edward, the only other son of the Queen of Bohemia who married, died in the prime of life; and long before a glimmering of the anticipated grandeur which might, but for his perversion, have awaited his family appeared in the distant horizon.

His three daughters, who inherited his place, were named Louisa, Anne, and Benedicta; but of these Louisa, the eldest, like her father, died early in life. She married Louis, Prince of Salms, a German prince, who held the responsible situation of governor to the Emperor Joseph I. of Germany. Louisa died in 1679, leaving three young children, her representatives, and inheritors of her claims to the Crown of England. They were named Louis, Louisa, and Eleanora. This prince, and two princesses, so totally unnoticed in history, held nevertheless in right of their birth, the rank of being the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh members, in proximity to the Crown who were excluded the throne of England on account of their faith. The Princesses Anne and Benedicta, the two younger daughters of Edward, and aunts to the three last-named, were the eighth and ninth members of the Royal Family who were barred the throne by their profession of Romanism. Their history will be found related in order of succession. The excluded members of the Royal Family, then, to enumerate consecutively, would be; of the dynasty of Stuarts, *notre ancienne Maison Royale.*

1. James Prince of Wales
2. The Princess Louisa

} Children of James II.

3. Anne, Queen of Sardinia, daughter of Henrietta Duchess of Orleans.

Of the dynasty of Stuart-Simmeren. "branche cadette."

1. Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans. Daughter of Charles Louis, Elector Palatine.

2. Louis, Prince of Salms
3. The Lady Louisa of Salms
4. The Lady Eleanora of Salms

} Grandchildren of Prince Edward.

5. Anne, Princess of Condé
6. Benedicta, Duchess of Hanover

} Daughters of Prince Edward.

7. The Princess Palatine Louisa, daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia.

It will thus be perceived that in point of fact only four Royal Personages were excluded by the Act of Succession, as all these princes and princesses, with the exception of the Princess Palatine Louisa, had for progenitors either James II.; Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans; Charles Louis, Elector Palatine; or Prince Edward. Of these James II., Elizabeth Charlotte (daughter of Charles Louis), and Prince Edward, as also the Palatine Princess Louisa voluntarily embraced the Romish faith, whilst Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, was bred in it from infancy by her mother. Sophia, the heiress to the Crown of England, was the only remaining descendant of James I. who had issue beyond those just enumerated as excluded; but her progeny we have erst this narrated. Her eldest son, George Louis, ascended the English throne on the death of his cousin Queen Anne, and figures in our annals as King George I.; of his brothers, two, viz. Frederick and Charles, entered the service of the Emperor of Germany, in whose service they fell fighting against the Turks, 1690. Of the others, Maximilian, the third son, embraced the tenets of

the Church of Rome. He died in 1726. Christian, the fifth son, died in 1703; and Ernest Augustus, the youngest, who was titular Bishop of Osnaburgh, in 1728. All these princes were unmarried. Sophia, the only daughter and her mother's namesake, espoused Frederic I., King of Prussia, by whom she became ancestress of the present Royal Family, the heir to whose monarchy is so shortly to be united to England's fairest floweret, the eldest daughter of our amiable queen.

It is curious to observe that had Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, been like the rest of her kindred a Romanist, she being the last remaining descendant of the House of Stuart, Parliament would have had to have travelled back to secure a Protestant heir to the times of Henry VIII., even to the descendants of that monarch's younger sister Mary, to whom, in preference to his elder sister Margaret (the ancestress of the House of Stuart), it may be recollected the royal tyrant demitted his crown, failing heirs of his own body. Lady Jane Grey it was who based her title to the crown on her descent from this Mary, as also on the Act of Parliament, then unrepealed, which settled the crown on her family. Our forefathers, however, less tractable than their successors, would not consent to this substitution of parliamentary for hereditary right; hence poor Lady Jane expiated her innocent offence (if we may so use words apparently paradoxical) on the scaffold. It is

curious to note that so far back as the times of Edward VI., the idea of excluding a Roman Catholic sovereign prevailed, but it is still more extraordinary that Elizabeth, whose very title depended on her adherence to the Protestant faith, should not have enacted some statute by which the throne should be foreclosed against Romanists. Her hatred of Mary Queen of Scots alone, it would be thought, would have prompted such a measure. Was it that even she, in all the plenitude of her power, feared that Parliament would refuse to register such an edict? for after all that body was not so subservient to her as to her father; or was it that she feared, by questioning the Divine hereditary right of kings, her own title would be jeopardized, and the claims of her cousin, Lady Katherine Grey, be brought into unenviable notoriety? Whatever her reason, it cannot sufficiently be regretted that some such provision was not made, for it would then have evaded the invidiousness of a personal rather than a general application, and would have saved the immense amount of blood and treasure expended from 1688 to 1746. While upon the subject of the claims of Mary Tudor and her descendants (which include in consequence those of her grand-daughters the ladies Jane and Katherine Grey), it may be as well to dissipate a report sometimes hazarded, that failing issue of the Queen and her family, the present Duke of Buckingham is the next heir to the throne, he being this Mary's lineal representative.

This assertion, though correct in the phraseology of royalty, is not so in the sense usually attributed to it, which will be perceived when we state, that, in the phraseology of royalty is understood by the words, "the Queen's family," all the princes and princesses descending from her Majesty's direct ancestress, the Princess Sophia; whilst the vulgar acceptation of the term circumscribes it to her Majesty's immediate relatives, the children of her grandfather, George III.* Hence the miscomprehension innocently enough has arisen. The Duke of Buckingham claims only after all the descendants of the Princess Sophia, and as they count at the present time about a hundred in number, his prospective vista of royalty is a contingency which (humanly speaking) can never be realized.

The Ten Members of the Royal Family of England who were excluded the Throne of Great Britain by their non-compliance with the Protestant Church as by law established, were,

I.

James, Prince of Wales,—son and heir of King James II., born the tenth of June, 1688, who

* A case in point suggests itself, familiar doubtless to our readers; we allude to that afforded by the late ex-king of the French, Louis Philippe, who, in royal phraseology, was always termed the cousin of Charles X., whereas, in common parlance, he was not even distantly related to him; his sole bond of affinity being his descent from one common ancestor Louis XIII. If we might be allowed to coin language, apparently unknown to Johnson, we should designate him as a "ninth cousin" of Charles Dix.

married, 1719, Clementina, daughter of Prince James Sobieski, of Poland, by whom he had issue two sons,

b. 31st December, 1720,	b. 6th March, 1725,
CHARLES,	HENRY,
m. 1773, the Princess Louisa Stolberg,	Cardinal of York,
d. s. p. 30th January, 1788.	d. s. p. June, 1807.
	When the representation of King James II. failed.

James, Prince of Wales, died on the first day of January, 1766, at Rome.

II.

The Princess Louisa, youngest daughter of King James II., was born at St. Germain's, in France, on the eighteenth of June, 1692, and died there (unmarried), eighth day of April, 1712, in the twentieth year of her age.

III.

ANNE, QUEEN OF SARDINIA,

Née Anne of Orleans.

This princess, the second daughter of Philip of Orleans by his first wife Henrietta of England, was born at St. Cloud, on the thirty-first day of August, 1669. She received the names of Anne Mary after her cousin *La Grande Mademoiselle*, who, with the Dauphin, son of Louis XIV., were her sponsors.

Hardly had the little Anne reached a twelvemonth old when she had to mourn, or speaking more correctly to sustain, for she was as yet incapable of feeling her loss, the death of her fascinating mother; an event which has been previously noted, and which led to the elevation, twelve months afterwards, of her cousin Elizabeth Charlotte as her mother-in-law. This lady confided the charge of her little step-daughter to the Marchioness of Clerembault, an unhappy choice as afterwards appeared, for the Marchioness, who was of a harsh repulsive disposition, never succeeded in gaining the affections of either Anne or Mary Louisa.* To this sister, who

* The Marchioness of Clerembault succeeded Madame de St. Chaumont as the Instructress of these Princesses on the dismissal of the latter by their father, who was jealous of her attachment to the person of the first Madame. She was as much beloved by her pupils as the Marchioness of Clerembault was detested. The Marchioness was, however, eventually superseded by Madame de Grancey, a woman of low dissolute manners, whose appointment the second Madame strenuously but ineffectually opposed.

was eight years older than herself, Anne was warmly, nay, passionately attached, and her separation from her, consequent on Mary Louisa's elevation to the throne of Spain, cost her many a bitter flood of tears. It is one of the innumerable penalties associated with royalty, that its members, however fervently attached to each other, must expect in the common course of events to be parted; and how often has the separation of the loved ones, little as they have foreseen it, been for eternity; or if more haply they have survived, and a good old age has been accorded to them, what conflicting and jarring interests have not often arisen, marring and weakening, if not destroying, the force of that sweet primeval love which once seemed undying and inextinguishable! Not so, however, fortunately, or unfortunately as it may be deemed, was it destined to be with Anne and Mary Louisa. The beauty of this fondly loved sister had singled her out, from among even the beauties of the most splendid court in Europe, as the object of universal admiration, and forms an inexhaustless theme of enthusiastic eulogy with French writers; nor was it her outward charms alone which attracted, as her mental qualifications combined with her amiability of disposition to render her a general favourite. It was surmised, and not without reason, that Louis XIV. had destined her for the dauphin; but this monarch, whatever his private wishes, never suffered them to interfere with his political interests. His brother-in-law, Charles II., King of Spain (the last

prince of his house) was weak, imbecile and childless. He wanted a wife, and it was indispensable for the success of Louis's projects that he should wed a French princess. Poor Mary Louisa, as the only marriageable one, was therefore fixed upon; though neither her own nor her father's feelings were consulted. Louis declared it was his pleasure that the alliance should take place, and this settled it; for Monsieur was far too obedient a brother to dispute his sovereign's commands. It was generally believed at the time that Mary Louisa was passionately in love with her cousin, the dauphin;* and so deeply did this opinion take root, that it forms the subject of endless romance with French writers, who, under feigned appellatives, touchingly commemorate the passion of the youthful pair. *On dit* that one day, on Le Grand Monarque remarking to Mary Louisa, that he could not have done more for his daughter than make her Queen of Spain, the princess responded, "Ah! sire, you might have done more for your niece." It grieves us to be compelled to cast doubts on, if not wholly to deny, the truth of this pretty theory; but we are afraid that Mary Louisa's reluctance to the Spanish match arose more from her unwillingness to leave the gay court of her childhood, than from any predilection which she entertained for her cousin. He

* Vide Madame de Sévigné's Letters. Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier. Memoirs of the Marquis de Dangeau. Taylor's House of Orleans. Mémoires de Duc de Saint Simon. Pardoe's Court of France, &c.

certainly was not of a disposition to captivate her affections, if we may give credence to the testimony of her mother-in-law :—"All that was good in the dauphin," says this princess, "came from his preceptor, all that was bad from himself. He never either loved or hated any one much, and yet he was very wicked. His greatest pleasure was to do something to vex a person, and immediately afterwards, if he could do something very pleasing to the same person, he would set about it with great willingness. In every respect he was of the strangest disposition possible; when one thought he was good-humoured he was angry, and when one supposed him to be ill-humoured he was in an amiable mood. No one could ever guess him rightly, and I do not believe that his like ever was, or ever will be, born. It cannot be said he had much wit; but still less was he a fool."* Not the prince, gentle reader, to captivate the affections of a mild loveable girl like Mary Louisa, who, if she ever entertained any tender feeling for him, must have been effectually cured of it by his indifference at their coming separation.

Anne was present at the ceremony of her sister's nuptials, which were celebrated with gorgeous magnificence at Fontainebleau on the 31st day of August, 1679, the Prince de Conti acting as proxy for the Spanish bridegroom. The bride submitted to the ordeal coldly and impassively, but when all the horrors of a separation from those she so fondly

* Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

cherished began to press upon her with its hideous realities, her grief was boundless. She threw herself at the feet of the king and refused consolation; in fact, her distress was so great that it became the common talk of the Parisians; the dismay of the proud Spaniards at this awkward *contre temps* may be better imagined than described.* One day the king, to rid himself of Mary Louisa's importunities, which detained him beyond his hour of going to mass, said to her, "It would be strange, indeed, madame, if her Catholic majesty should prevent his most Christian majesty going to mass." The good-hearted Parisians were so affected at their beloved princess's excessive grief, that they believed her father would never suffer her to leave him in such distress; but this, even had the duke been inclined to, it was wholly beyond his power to prevent. The bride's parting with the king, her uncle, was most heart-rending; they embraced each other over and over again with tears and sighs, without having courage to separate; though the king, mindful even in affliction of his niece's interests, failed not to warn her that the unhappiest thing which could happen for her would be for them ever to meet again. His warning was, however, needless; as the poor princess never revisited the fondly cherished land of her nativity. Anne, with her father and mother, accompanied her sister as far as Amboise, where they parted, never more to meet in this world. Mary

* Letters of Madame de Sévigné.

Louisa met her husband at Quintinapalla, near Burgos, where the second nuptial ceremony took place. Whatever the king's prejudices against the French—and they are said to have been so excessive that he even commended the Duchess de Terra Nova for strangling her parrot because it could only speak French—he received his bride with affection, and warmly embraced her. Forgetful for the moment of etiquette, or perhaps openly setting it at defiance, he rushed into her presence on her arrival, and catching her in his arms before she could throw herself at his feet, passionately exclaimed, "My queen, my queen!"*

It is strange that amid the numerous correspondence of the writers of that age so little is said of the Princess Anne of Orleans, for both her mother and her sister engross no small share of their attention. Still, lacking this information, it is not difficult to discover that Anne's was a peculiarly attractive disposition; and that she inherited to their full extent those persistent charms of her lamented mother by the fascination she exercised over those whom she came in contact with. By her mother-in-law she is described as one of "the most amiable and virtuous of women;"† and by Madame de Maintenon as one of "the best and most indulgent of mothers;"‡ strong testimony to her extreme amiability and moral worth.

* Taylor's House of Orleans. † Duchess of Orleans.
‡ Correspondence of Madame de Maintenon.

There is not to be found in the French records any notice of another suitor for the Princess Anne than he whom she afterwards married, King Victor Amadeus II., of Sardinia; but who then only bore the title of Duke of Savoy. This match was effectuated by the profound policy of her uncle, Louis Quatorze, who sought to win over to his interests by this alliance with his family the powerful and able Sardinian king, for Victor Amadeus is said to have been—and this is no slight boast of one whose ancestors had ruled uninterruptedly their native country for century after century—"the most able, the most warlike, and the most ambitious monarch of his race, or even of Christendom!"*

Anne was only in her fifteenth year when she espoused the Duke of Savoy (her cousin the Duc du Maine acting as that prince's proxy), at the Chapel Royal, 10th April, 1684; but her marriage was attended with none of that *éclat* which signalized the celebration of her sister's.† This was mainly attributable to the inferior position of her spouse; for Victor Amadeus, who was then only a duke, had even this title challenged him by the vanity of the French generals, who familiarly styled him Monsieur de Savoie; a liberty which the haughty prince never forgave, as appeared from his subsequent con-

* Gallenga's History of Piedmont.

† Mary Louisa's nuptials had been celebrated with the most gorgeous magnificence; indeed, her father, the Duke of Orleans, had a narrative drawn up which minutely recounts its splendid pageantries.

duct. As soon as the ceremony was over, the future queen, now styled Madame Royale, set out for Savoy, accompanied by the Princess de L'Illebonne as her lady in waiting; and on the frontier she was met by the expectant bridegroom, who conveyed her to Turin, his capital and future residence.*

The country to which Anne was introduced was one that had long furnished husbands for the princesses of France; and even the grandmother of Victor Amadeus himself, Christina, was the daughter of a French king, Henri Quatre. This gallant little state, which has lately distinguished itself by its bold adhesion, at whatever cost, to the policy of the Western Powers, is one that must always command the admiration and interest of Englishmen, always ready to sympathise with and uphold a daring and loyal minded power. Hemmed in by France on the one side and Germany on the other, it has been only by dint of great exertions, not unmixed with political chicanery, that Sardinia has managed to retain her independence; this, however, she has not only done, but by a display of talent on the part of her princes, unrivalled by any other European family, she has succeeded in even gradually extending her possessions. That the Dukes of Savoy were ever actuated in their measures with the hope of becoming kings of Lombardy was a fact perfectly understood by diplomatists, who scrupled not to play on their fears by alternately

* Marquis de Dangeau's Memoirs of the Court of France.

withdrawing or holding forth to them the coveted prize. Victor Amadeus, however, wiser or more experienced than his ancestors, was perfectly convinced that Lombardy was, as he expressed it, "like an artichoke, which could only be obtained leaf by leaf." *

These princes of the House of Savoy, (from the time of Victor Amadeus II., of Savoy-Stuart,) have ruled their country in a splendid and unbroken line of descent from the earliest ages to the present era; and are now the only European dynasty, who, in an uninterrupted succession of male princes, have continued to sway their native country. But a prouder and nobler boast of the Savoyard monarchs is this,—that *their* rule has extended over a willing, loyal, and industrious people, ever ready at the word of command to start up in their sovereign's behalf, and die, if needs be, in defence of their king. Truly a noble and a grand boast in these anarchist and revolutionary days! Nor was this feeling unreciprocated by their rulers; for beautifully does a recent writer † remark on this, that the Piedmontese princes were, even "in the worst devices of their crooked policy, national at heart," for they could at least say, "After all, everything was done and suffered for the people's own sake." "It was a beautiful reproach conveyed against the memory of

* Coxe's Memoirs of the House of Austria. Gallenga's Piedmont.

† Gallenga.

Victor Amadeus I by his courtiers, that he was as niggardly to his servants as he was lavish to his people:" and nothing would satisfy Charles Emanuel II., but he must gather the whole population of Turin round his death-bed, so that he might die at home among them. While Victor Amadeus II., the prince of whom we are writing, when he saw the poor peasantry driven from their homes by the merciless French on their invasion of Piedmont, broke his collar of the order of the Annonciade into pieces, and distributing it among them, as he descried from afar the flames which consumed his villa of Rivoli, exclaimed, "Would to Heaven I saw all my castles in ashes, so the enemy would only spare the huts of the poor!" And that these people were worthy of their sovereign's attachment is evident, for it was no idle boast of Charles Emanuel I., that he could rely on as many soldiers as he numbered subjects; and pleasantly did one of the nobles rally his sovereign when he talked of abandoning them for a more powerful kingdom:—"What new subjects would you be looking for? such good-natured people as we are you will find in no part of the world."*

Into the details of the tortuous policy which Victor Amadeus was compelled to adopt with France and Austria it is not necessary to enter; suffice it to say, that by a display of generalship unrivalled by any European monarch, he not only managed to

* Gallenga.

come scatheless out of the fray, but even to obtain a large augmentation of territory. In the first war which broke out after his accession, 1690 to 1696, Victor Amadeus, notwithstanding his recent alliance with France, sided with the allies against that power. To this he was mainly incited by his jealousy of Louis XIV., and the arrogance with which that monarch treated him personally. Finding, however, that the allies were equally exorbitant in their demands, and that they afforded him but little real succour, Victor Amadeus decided on deserting them, and uniting his forces with those of France. This manœuvre he executed so successfully, that he ranged his army alongside with that power at the very time his old friends the allies expected he was acting in their favour. The price of Victor's alliance was the hand of his daughter, the Princess Adelaide, a princess so redundant in personal charms, that her equal has seldom been witnessed. She was married to the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV., and as the most beauteous of the dauphines, Adelaide de Bourgoyne must be familiar to our readers. At the time of her betrothal, she was but a child of thirteen years of age, notwithstanding which, the Duke of Saint Simon avers that "never did a better educated princess, or one who had profited more skilfully by the lessons of her instructors make her *entrée* at the French court."* Perhaps the following letter from Madame de Maintenon to her mother, Queen

* St. Simon.

Anne, affords the best proof of the estimation she was held in by her adopted family.

From Madame de Maintenon to Queen Anne :—

"A letter of this sort little suits the respect I owe your Royal Highness; but I believe you will pardon it on account of our excessive joy at the treasure we receive. She (the Princess Adelaide) need not open her mouth to show us her wit; her way of listening, and all the emotions of her countenance sufficiently show that nothing escapes her notice. Your Royal Highness will scarcely believe, though we can aver it to you, how much the king is delighted with her. He told me yesterday that he constrained himself, lest his joy should appear excessive. The princess is polite to a degree that does not let her say anything disagreeable. Yesterday I wanted to decline her caresses, and put her off by telling her I was too old; but she assured me, 'Oh, not so old!' When the king left the room she ran to embrace me. She then made me sit down, after observing my difficulty in standing, and placing herself with great condescension almost on my knees, she said to me, 'Mamma has charged me to give you a thousand demonstrations of her friendship, and to beg yours for myself. Pray instruct me well in everything whereby I may please the king.' These were her words, Madam; but the gay, the sweet, the graceful air with which they were uttered are not to be expressed in a letter."*

* Letters of Madame de Maintenon.

Four years after the marriage of his elder daughter, Victor Amadeus was fortunate enough to marry his second and only remaining one to Philip V., King of Spain, younger brother of his daughter Adelaide's husband, the Duke of Burgundy. This princess, Mary Louisa by name, is said to have equalled her sister in political talent, although slightly inferior to her in personal charms. Louville, the French ambassador, in describing her, says, "The queen is very small, and rather pretty without being handsome; she has much wit, and is even said in this respect to equal her sister, the Duchess of Burgundy." The popularity of Mary Louisa was so great, and so captivated were the Spaniards by her chivalrous conduct, that years after her death, and when another queen sat in her place on the throne of Spain, the people used to shout out the name of their lamented idol, in lieu of her actually before them:—touching proof of their love for this cherished princess, which time itself seemed unable to efface.

The poor Queen of Sardinia was destined to experience, though in a different form to that which attended the other members of her House, the proverbial ill fortune of the luckless Stuarts. Prosperous as regarded her temporal interests, she was doomed to witness her two beauteous and fondly cherished daughters—for beautiful and highly talented in a preeminent degree they were—fall a prey to the destroyer in the bloom of their youth and beauty; and—what is more lamentable to relate—within two

years of each other; "Princesses, who," as Madame de Maintenon touchingly remarks, "lived only long enough to make themselves lamented." * "How I should pity the poor Queen of Sardinia, had she known them as they were!" writes this lady to the Princess des Ursins. The dauphiness first succumbed, on the 12th of February, 1712; and the blank caused by her premature death may be better imagined than described. "All is dead here," writes Madame de Maintenon; "life has fled from us;—our lost princess was the soul of everything. The court is as wretched as myself;—all is blank and void;—there is no longer any joy or occupation." † The dauphin survived his wife only a week, falling a victim to his grief for her irreparable loss. Of the three sons of this amiable pair, only one, he, who was afterwards King Louis XV., survived. The Queen of Spain outlived her sister barely two years, dying, February, 1714. By a singular coincidence, these princesses, who married two brothers, died in the same month, at the same age, and within a twelvemonth of each other; while, to complete the resemblance, they each bore their husbands three sons: though of Mary Louisa's, more fortunate than Adelaide's, two lived to reach years of maturity, and under the titles of Louis I. and Ferdinand VII. reigned successively as kings of Spain.

* Correspondence of Madame de Maintenon with the Princess des Ursins.

† Ibid.

Hardly had the bereaved Sardinian queen began to surmount the loss of her lamented daughters, when her eldest son, Victor Philip, Prince of Piedmont, a promising youth of sixteen, and heir to his father's throne, died suddenly, in March, 1715; so that of all her once numerous family, one only, Charles Emanuel, Duke of Aosta, survived. This prince, afterwards known as Charles Emanuel III., King of Sardinia, now assumed the title of Prince of Piedmont.

Into the domestic relations of Queen Anne, in connexion with her position as eventual Heiress of the House of Stuart, we have, as yet, made no mention; though it must not be forgotten that the position she occupied was much less important than when, by the death of Henry of York, in 1807, her descendants became the representatives of Charles I. Nevertheless, in the second great war which desolated Europe under Victor Amadeus, commencing 1701, Queen Anne of England, mindful of her relationship to her cousin and namesake Queen Anne of Sardinia, strenuously exerted herself in favour of her Catholic cousins, and even endeavoured to obtain for them the thrones of Spain and the Indies in lieu of their little Duchy of Savoy; but this she was unable to accomplish. On the first outbreak of hostilities, Victor Amadeus, flattered by his daughters' recent alliance with two grandsons of France, and hemmed in by the French and Spanish forces, had espoused the interests of those powers,

and even headed their united armies as Commander-in-chief. Disgusted, however, with the arrogance of the French generals, and above all with the Castilian superciliousness of his son-in-law, the King of Spain, Victor soon repented his impolitic engagements, and meditated an early retreat from them. As he had before forsaken the allies for France, so did he now desert that power for the allies. This time, at all events, he managed to range himself on the winning side, insomuch that on the conclusion of hostilities by the peace of Utrecht, he not only obtained the crown of Sicily for a reward, but even the prospective reversion of that of Spain. These advantages he owed solely to the goodwill of Anne of England, who, from feelings of personal regard for Victor's wife, did all which lay in her power to facilitate their interests.

Hardly, however, as Gallenga remarks, had the diadem been laid on Victor's brow and that of Anne of Orleans at Palermo, December 21st, 1713, when the death of their daughter, the Queen of Spain (which has been before noted), and the marriage of her husband with Elizabeth Farnese, a princess of Parma, endangered the acquisition of Savoy and peace of Europe. The new Spanish queen, haughty, bold, and intriguing, had attained her position by consummate powers of deception which had imposed on the most skilful diplomatists. Under a feigned simplicity and mildness of disposition she concealed a haughty aspiring spirit, and

had signalized her *entrée* into Spain by the dismissal of the Princess des Ursins, the old and attached friend of her husband and predecessor.* This was a mark of peculiar ingratitude on her part, inasmuch as it was this lady who had gained her the lofty position she now inherited. Leagued with Cardinal Alberoni (a man of immense talent, and who had raised himself from the station of a gardener to the highest offices in the state; and whose designs, had they succeeded, would have acquired for himself an eternal renown, but who, insomuch as from unforeseen circumstances they failed, has been unduly deprecated to posterity), the new queen determined on winning back for the Spanish throne the acquisitions it had so recently lost. Pacific measures having failed to obtain the restoration of Sicily, and Victor Amadeus not entering into her views, she at once ordered the occupation of that island, which was effected with little opposition, A.D. 1718. Unable to regain it by force of arms, Victor appealed to England, Austria and France for assistance; but the two latter powers had never cordially acquiesced in his aggrandizement, and in Anne, Queen of England, he had lost the best and most constant of his friends. A German dynasty inimical to his interests now ruled in Great Britain, determined at all costs

* Madame de Maintenon's Correspondence with the Princess des Ursins. Coxe's Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.

on adhering to the emperor, who was bent on regaining possession of Sicily. The rival claims of Spain and Savoy were therefore equally ignored by the other powers, now cemented together in a bond of unity by the quadruple alliance concluded at London. By this compact the Sicilian diadem, *malgré* the opposition of Victor and Philip, was handed over to the emperor; the former receiving in lieu of his forced renunciation the island of Sardinia in exchange; which, although inferior to Sicily in size and advantages, partly compensated by its greater proximity to his continental dominions. It was only in consequence of his inability to resist the demands of the allies that Victor acceded to this arrangement; but, exposed as he was to the combined attacks of England, France and Austria, it would have been madness to have longer resisted. The King of Spain, or rather his turbulent and ambitious wife, still refused all offers of accommodation; and determined on resistance though they stood alone. A year however sufficed to bring them to reason, and the fall of their prime minister, Alberoni, was destined to herald a general pacification. Victor had acceded to the quadruple alliance, 2nd November, 1718, and on the 25th of January, 1720, it was finally signed by Philip V. And thus was peace, after a long conflict of twenty years, at last given to palpitating Europe.

Henceforth the life of Queen Anne passed more

tranquilly, if not more happily. Undisturbed by the unceasing warfare which had raged around her since her marriage, she must have enjoyed and appreciated this unwonted repose. Her husband in his later years became more devout than he had formerly been, and in truth his new-born devotion, and the change it effected in his once impetuous disposition, created some sensation in the circles of royalty. He discarded his mistresses, who had once had great influence over him, and returned with increasing affection to the society of the wife he had so long neglected. This good Queen, a pattern of every conjugal and domestic virtue, had patiently and uncomplainingly borne his numerous infidelities; nor suffered them, much as she felt them, to lessen the constancy of her affection for him: and she now beheld—with what pleasurable feelings may be conceived—his renewed love for the wife of his youth.

It is a striking proof of the influence which this amiable Queen exercised over her daughters, that these princesses, though separated from her at so tender an age, unceasingly manifested the utmost affection for her; and this notwithstanding they were tended in their adopted families with more than maternal solicitude. After the death of the eldest of her daughters, the Dauphiness, it was discovered from the papers which this Princess left behind her that she had constantly informed her parents of Louis XIV.'s military projects. The King, who had dearly

loved her, when these proofs of his favourite's treachery were placed in his hands, only smiled, and turning to Madame de Maintenon, said, "The little jade then deceived us."* Anne did not long survive the new increase of domestic happiness accorded her. She died at Turin on the 28th of November, 1728, in the sixtieth year of her age, and was buried at Superga, a magnificent mausoleum for the Royal Family of Savoy, erected by her husband in fulfilment of a vow he made in 1706 when Turin was besieged by the French.†

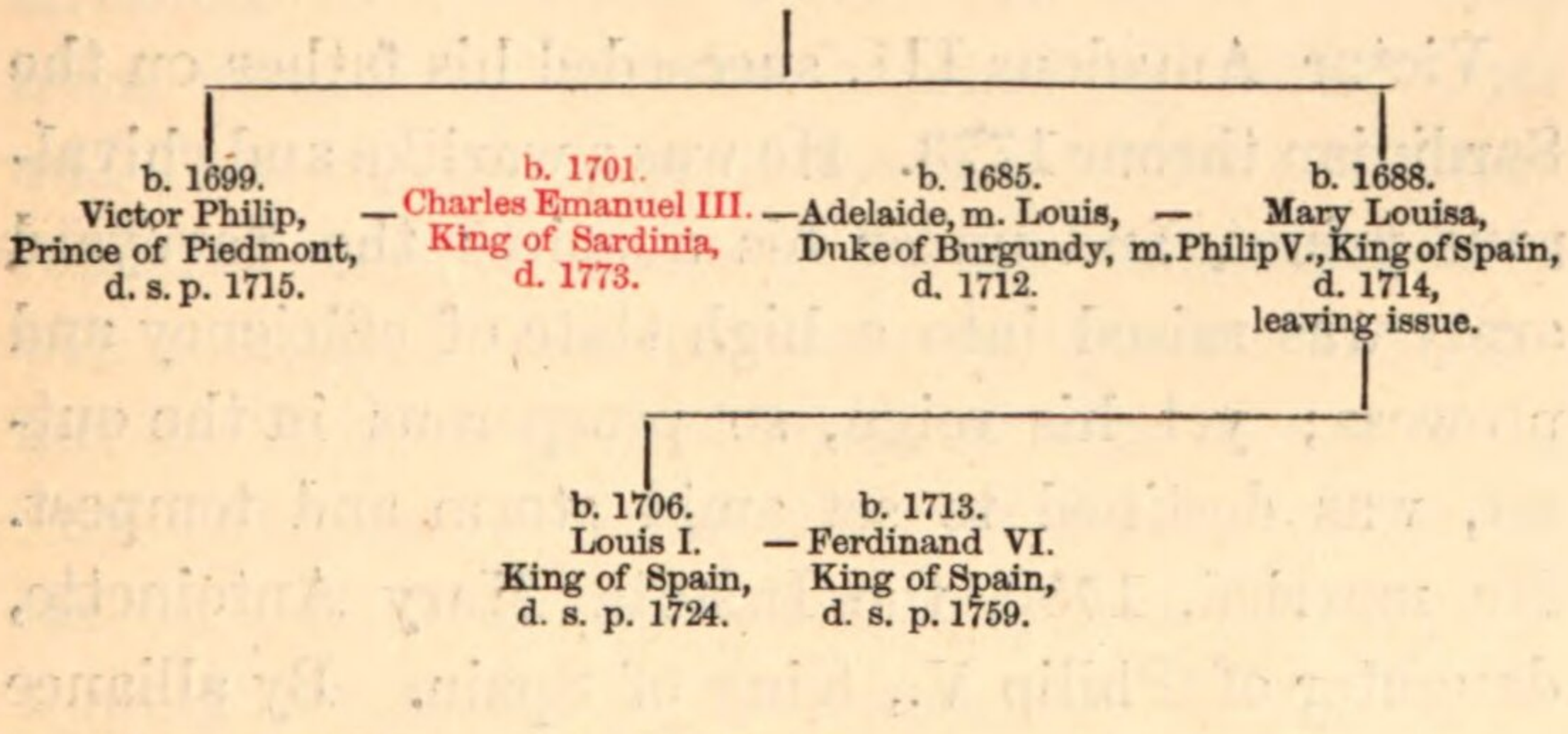
It may truly and without flattery be affirmed of Queen Anne, that she possessed in their highest perfection all those domestic virtues and amiable qualities, which even their worst enemies have usually conceded the possession of to the House of Stuart: her conduct as wife, mother, and Queen being every way unexceptionable. More fortunate than the rest of her family, she experienced a greater share of temporal greatness and felicity than perhaps any other member of her luckless race. With her, may be truly said, died all the glory and greatness of Victor Amadeus. Fascinated by the Countess of St. Sebastian, a lady of mature years, whom it is said he had been attached to in his youth, Victor determined on espousing her, despite their differing positions; and on the 12th of August, 1729, within a year of his wife's death,

* Dangeau. † Gallenga.

their marriage took place privately. As it was impossible, however, to raise this lady to the dignity of a Queen, Victor, with all the impetuosity of a youthful lover, determined on resigning his crown for her society. Calling all the ministers and officers of State around him at his Palace of Rivoli (3rd September, 1730), he pathetically lamented to them his increasing years and infirmities, which incapacitated him, he said, from longer performing his functions. All around him, touched with the spectacle, and remembering the many conflicts in which their sovereign had led them on to victory, fell on their knees, and bursting into tears, begged of him to recall his determination. But Victor Amadeus was immoveable. Ordering his prime minister, the Marquis del Borgo, to read aloud an act drawn up by himself, in which he resigned his kingly authority to his son, now Charles Emanuel III., he reserved for himself only a pension of fifty thousand crowns per annum, on which to live in retirement at Chambery. But hardly had he completed his abdication and retired to the residence he had voluntarily allotted himself, when he repented the folly he had been guilty of. His wife, moreover, who was of an ambitious temperament, had set her heart on being a queen; and urged on, as is supposed, by her importunities, Victor was guilty of the greatest extravagancies. He even endeavoured to resume the kingly authority he had so solemnly divested himself of; and when,

by the unanimous advice of the young king's ministers, it became necessary to place him under restraint, his rage and indignation were boundless.

Victor Amadeus did not long survive the compulsory indignities he had brought upon himself. Worn out by the turbulence of his feelings and the exciting scenes he had passed through, he sank into a deep melancholy, from which he never recovered. He died at Moncallier, on the 31st of October, 1732, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and thirtieth from his accession to the throne; surviving his abdication only two years. "Sad termination," writes Balbo, "of one of the longest, greatest and happiest reigns for Piedmont!" Victor had issue by his wife, Queen Anne, besides two children who died in infancy, two sons and two daughters, viz.—



Charles Emanuel, Anne's second son, in whom the representation of the Stuart family vested, succeeded his father, Victor Amadeus, on the

Sardinian throne A.D. 1730, by virtue of the Act of Abdication. This Prince was thrice married. By his first wife Anne, a Princess of the House of Stulsbach, and who died within a year of her nuptials, he had no issue. By his second, Polyxena, of Hesse Rhinefield, he had a son (afterwards Victor Amadeus III.,) and three daughters. By his third wife, Elizabeth of Lorraine, sister of the Emperor Francis I. of Germany, he had a son Benedict, Duke of Chablais, of whom his mother deceased in childbed 1741. Charles Emanuel died after a long and prosperous reign of forty-three years, A.D. 1773. His issue were:

b. 1726. Victor Amadeus III., King of Sardinia, d. 1796. — b. 1741. Benedict, Duke of Chablais, m. his niece, Anne of Sardinia, d. s. p. — b. 1728. Eleanora, d. s. p. — b. 1729. Louisa, d. s. p. — b. 1730. Felicita, d. s. p.

Victor Amadeus III. succeeded his father on the Sardinian throne 1773. He was a warlike and chivalrous prince, and under his auspices the Savoyard army was raised into a high state of efficiency and prowess; yet his reign, so prosperous in the outset, was destined to set amid storm and tempest. He married, 1750, the Infanta Mary Antoinette, daughter of Philip V., King of Spain. By alliance moreover with the powerful King of France, he had to all human appearance so cemented his power as to have placed himself beyond reach of human

ills, yet his strength was destined to be his weakness. His alliance with France was a triple one. His eldest son, Charles Emanuel having married the Princess Clotilda, sister of Louis XVI., whilst his two eldest daughters, the Princesses Josephine and Theresa, had espoused that monarch's younger brothers, the Comtes de Provence and D'Artois, afterwards Louis XVIII., and Charles X. On the outbreak of the French Revolution, Victor Amadeus at once declared for his injured relatives, the Counts of Provence and Artois taking refuge in his dominions; but the Republic, then in the zenith of its furor, was not to be estopped in its career by a puny state like Sardinia. Victor Amadeus's troops were defeated in encounter after encounter by the French, who, under the guidance of the renowned Bonaparte, were now become irresistible. That general, after having overrun the country, advanced to Cherasco, within ten miles of Turin, from whence he dictated a peace by which Coni and Tortona, the keys of the Alps, were to be surrendered into his hands. Utterly helpless, Victor was compelled to assent even to this humiliation; but the wounds he had received were of too rankling a nature to permit his ever recovering them. He died of a broken heart, within a few days of signing the treaty of Cherasco, A.D. 1796, in the seventieth year of his age. So little is known of the family of Victor Amadeus, that the following portraiture of them by Mr. Swinburne, an English

traveller, who visited the court of Turin in 1779, may not be found uninteresting. He says, "Charles Emanuel (afterwards Charles Emanuel IV., of Sardinia,) is thin and sickly like a worn-out man; his wife, Madame Clotilda of France, is as fat as butter, very merry and good-natured. She has no children. The Duke of Chablais (Victor Amadeus's brother,) seems to be a mere driveller; the rest of the princes are absolute Corsican fairies (alluding to a famous dwarf so styled). The substance and strength of the stock seem quite exhausted in them. They are the smallest underformed things I ever saw, the Corsican fairy excepted. The Queen looks like an old woman of ninety. She has had twenty-one children. The Duchess of Chablais is pretty like her sister, the Comtesse D'Artois. The youngest princess, Mary (afterwards wife of the late king Anthony of Saxony,) is very pretty, light and elegant, but very short."* In justice to the family of his Sardinian Majesty, we must add, that the Baroness D'Oberkirch, by no means an incompetent judge, speaks in high terms of the beauty of Mesdames, the Comtesses de Provence and D'Artois, that monarch's eldest daughters;† and certainly from original portraits, in our possession, of these princesses, we are inclined to think Mr. Swinburne is

* Swinburne's Courts of Europe at the close of the last century.

† Baroness D'Oberkirch's Memoirs of the Courts of Europe, previous to the French Revolution.

too severe in his criticisms. Victor Amadeus's children were:

b. 1751. Charles Emanuel IV., — King of Sardinia, m. 1775 Clotilda, granddaughter of Louis XV., King of France, d. s. p. 1819.

b. 1759. Victor Emanuel I., — King of Sardinia, m. 1790 Theresa, daughter of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, d. 1824.

b. 1762. Maurice, — Duke of Montferrat, d. s. p. 1799.

b. 1765. Charles Felix I., — King of Sardinia, m. Christina, daughter of Ferdinand I., King of Naples, d. s. p. 1831.

b. 1766. Joseph Benedict, — Count of Maurienne, d. s. p. 1802.

b. 1753. Josephine, — m. Louis XVIII., King of France, d. s. p. 1810.

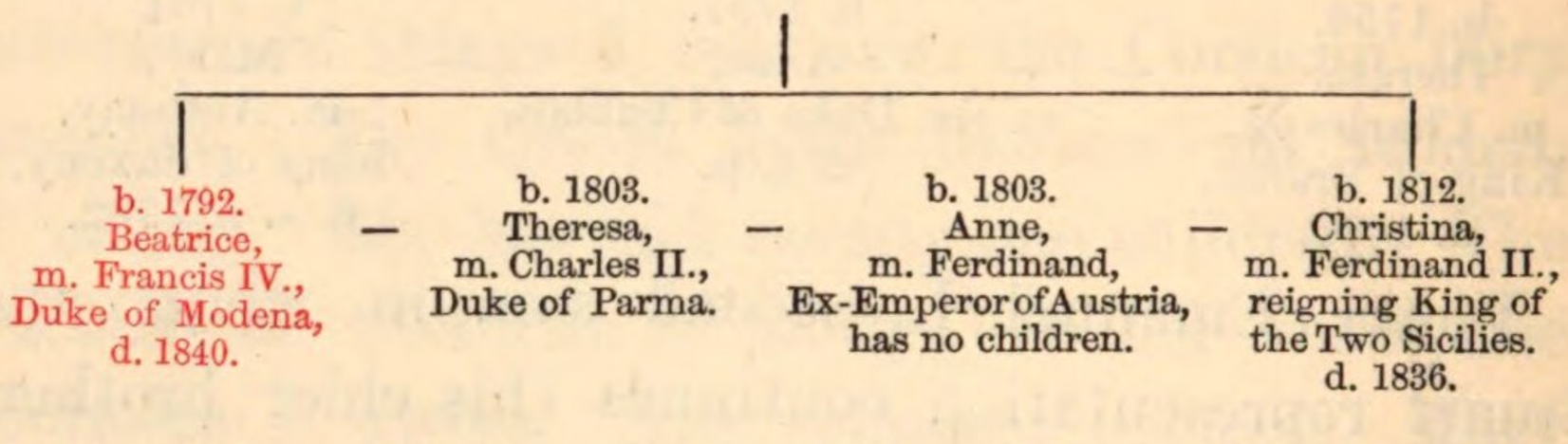
b. 1756. Theresa, — m. Charles X., King of France, d. 1805.

b. 1757. Anne, — m. the Duke of Chablais, d. s. p.

b. 1761. Mary, — m. Anthony, King of Saxony, d. s. p. 1782.

Victor Emanuel I., second son, in whom the Stuart representation continues (his elder brother, Charles Emanuel, having died without issue), ascended the Sardinian throne on his brother's abdication in 1802. His sway was, however, restricted solely to the Isle of Sardinia, as the continental dominions appertaining to his House had been wrested from his brother by the French, and formed into the Cisalpine Republic; which, though nominally independent, was indirectly under the control of Bonaparte. By the Congress of Vienna, in 1814, Victor Emanuel's dominions were restored to him intact. There, for seven years, he reigned peacefully, until in 1821, disturbances of a liberal character breaking forth, he, fatigued with the cares of royalty,

abdicated in favour of his brother, Charles Felix, who incontinently ascended the Sardinian throne. Victor Emanuel did not long survive his abdication, dying in 1824. By his wife Theresa, eldest daughter of Ferdinand, Duke of Modena (brother of the Emperors Joseph and Leopold of Germany), he had four daughters; but, failing male issue, the crown descended on his brother's death, in 1831, to the junior dynasty of Savoy-Carignan. Our ancient Stuart princes, therefore, reign no longer in Sardinia, the lineal succession remaining in the daughters of Victor Emanuel. These were:



Beatrice, Victor Emanuel's eldest daughter, in whom the Stuart representation continues, was born in 1792. She married, June 20th, 1821, Francis IV., Duke of Modena, by whom she had two sons and two daughters. The richness of the Duke of Modena's family in lineal pretensions is unrivalled by any other dynasty in Europe, which will be perceived when we state, that the Duke of Modena himself is the representative of Charles I., his niece, Mary Theresa, the next in succession, being his heiress; while his elder sister, Theresa, married to Henry V. (Comte de Chambord), is titular Queen of France; and his younger, Mary, married to Don John

of Spain, brother of Charles VI. (Conde de Montemolin), inherits the pretensions of that prince to the Spanish monarchy, pretensions, which, if recent occurrences may be judged from, will shortly be changed into realities. It is curious to observe that the lineal heirs to the three greatest kingdoms in Europe, Great Britain, France, and Spain, are to be found in the House of Modena; but it is still more curious to note, that had not the Stuarts and Bourbons been respectively superseded in England and France, these countries would probably have been temporarily united under the sway of the Count and Countess of Chambord (the latter being heiress to her brother after her little niece, the Princess Mary Theresa); and on the decease of the latter without issue, England and Spain would then have been united under the regality of her younger sister, Mary. It can excite no surprise, that, with these high lineal pretensions, the Duke of Modena should have been almost the only European potentate who refused to recognise the sovereignty of Louis Philippe; the grandeur of his family depending more on their lofty pedigree and unsullied descent, than the position they actually inherit as sovereigns of a petty Italian Duchy. The Duchess Beatrice, of Modena, died, 1840, her husband surviving till 1846. She left issue,

FRANCIS THE FIFTH, DUKE OF MODENA, THE LINEAL HEIR OF THE STUARTS,

Born 1st June, 1819, married 30th March, 1842,
Adelgonde, daughter of Louis, King of Bavaria,
by whom he has no children.

The Duke had an only brother who died in 1849, and two sisters who are living, as under :

b. 1821. Victor, m. 1847, Elizabeth, daughter of Archduke Joseph, of Austria, d. 1849, leaving issue. — b. 1817. Theresa, m. 1846, Henry V., titular King of France (Comte de Chambord). — b. 1824. Mary, m. 1847, John of Spain, brother of the Count of Montemolin. Issue.

b. 1849. Mary Theresa, Heiress Presumptive to her Uncle, the Duke of Modena, and probable future representative of the House of Stuart.

b. 1848. Charles, Heir Apparent. — b. 1849. Alphonso.

These princes inherit the pretensions of the Carlos Family to the Throne of Spain.

Theresa, second daughter of Victor Emanuel, married, the 15th of August, 1820, Charles II., Duke of Parma, who abdicated his throne during the revolutionary disturbances of 1849. By him she had issue, an only son, Charles III., Duke of Parma, born 1823. He married on the 10th of November, 1845, Louisa, daughter of the Duc de Berri, and grand-daughter of Charles X., King of France. He was assassinated 27th March, 1854, by whom is unknown. He left issue—

b. 1848. Robert, reigning Duke of Parma. — b. 1851. Henry — b. 1847. Marguerite — b. 1849. Alice.

Christina, fourth daughter of Victor Emanuel, married, 21st of November, 1832, Ferdinand II., reigning king of the Two Sicilies. She died in childbed, 31st January, 1836, leaving issue an only son, Francis, Prince Royal, born 1836, now, *dit on*, on the eve of betrothal to a princess of Bavaria. A petition has been lately presented to the congregation of Rites at Rome, for the beatification of this deservedly lamented princess.

Theresa, second daughter of King Victor Amadeus III., and the only one of that monarch's numerous family, besides his second son, Victor Emanuel, who had issue, married, 1773, the Count D'Artois, afterwards Charles X. By him she had issue, two sons, Louis, born, 1775, Duc D'Angouleme, then Dauphin, for a moment Louis XIX. of France, who married his cousin, Mary Theresa, daughter of Louis XVI., and died, succession perishing, 1844; and Charles, Duc de Berri, who married after the Restoration, 1816, Caroline, daughter of Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies. By this princess the Duc de Berri had issue a daughter, Louisa, born, 1819, married to the late Duke of Parma, and who now rules that Duchy as Regent for her infant son, Robert; and a son, Henry, posthumous, born, 1820, and heir to the throne of France, but who was expatriated by the Revolution of 1830, and has since assumed the title of Comte de Chambord. He married, 1846, Theresa, daughter of Francis IV., Duke of Modena, but has no issue. The Duc de Berri was assassinated by Louvel as he was coming out of a Parisian Theatre, February, 1820.

The descendants of Adelaide, eldest daughter of Anne, Queen of Sardinia, Progenitress of the second offshoot from the House of Stuart, curiously enough, by her marriage with the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XIV., commingled with, and became absorbed in that of Bourbon. The only son of Adelaide who survived was Louis XV., King of

France, who was born in 1710, and who married, 1725, Mary Lezsinska, daughter of Stanislaus, the dethroned King of Poland. Louis XV., who died, 1774, had issue by this princess.

b. 1729.		b. 1727.		b. 1732.
Louis, m. Josephine of Saxony, d. 1765.	—	Mary Louisa, m. Philip, Duke of Parma, d. 1759.	—	Henrietta, — d. s. p.

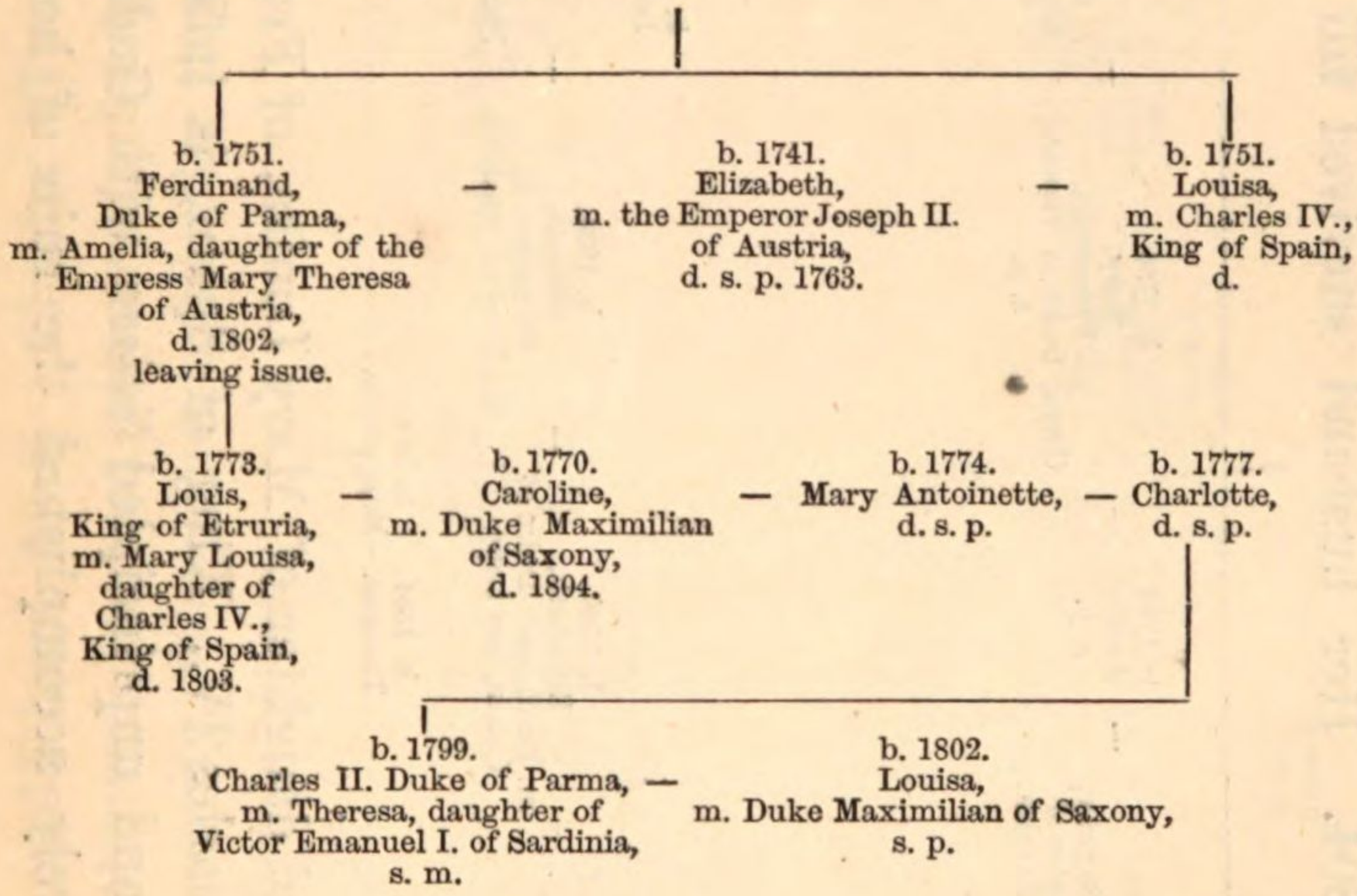
b. 1732.		b. 1733.		b. 1734.		b. 1737.
Adelaide, d. s. p.	—	Victoria, d. s. p. 1799.	—	Sophia, d. s. p.	—	Louisa, d. s. p. 1787.

Louis, Dauphin of France, only son of King Louis XV., was born 1727. He married, firstly, 1744, Mary Antoinette, daughter of Philip V., King of Spain, who died in childbed, 1746. Secondly, he espoused 1751, Josephine, daughter of Augustus III., King of Poland. This prince vividly recalled by his many virtues the memory of his grandfather, the Duke of Burgundy, but like him he was destined to frustrate the hopes raised by his amiable character, as he died nine years before his father, A.D. 1765. His issue, by Josephine of Saxony, his second wife, were:

b. 1754.	b. 1755.		b. 1757.		b. 1759.		b. 1764.
Louis XVI., King of France, m. Mary Antoinette, daughter of Mary Theresa, Empress of Austria, mise à mort at Paris, 1793, leaving issue.	Louis XVIII., King of France, m. Josephine, daughter of Victor Amadeus III., of Sardinia, d. s. p. 1824.	—	Charles X., King of France, m. Theresa, daughter of Victor Amadeus III., of Sardinia, d. s. m. 1836.	—	Clotilda, m. Charles Emanuel IV., King of Sardinia, d. s. p. 1802.	—	Elizabeth, mise à mort at Paris, s. p. 1794.

b. 1778.		b. 1785.
Mary Theresa, m. the Duke of Angouleme, son of Charles X., d. s. p. 1852.	—	Louis XVII., King of France, d. s. p. 1795.

Mary Louisa, eldest daughter of King Louis XV., was born 1727. She married Philip, Duke of Parma, on whom that duchy was settled by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. Philip was the son of Philip V., King of Spain, by his second wife Elizabeth Farnese; and it was in right of his mother that he inherited Parma as the last surviving descendant of the House of Farnese. Mary Louisa, who died 1759, left issue—



Caroline, born 1770, eldest daughter of Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, married Duke Maximilian, brother of Frederick Augustus IV. and Antony, kings of Saxony. Maximilian resigned his reversionary right to the Saxon throne, 1830, in favour of his son, the late Frederick Augustus V. The Royal Family of Saxony constitute another, through this princess, of the reigning European dynasties who claim descent from Charles I. The

Duchess Caroline died 1804. Her husband survived till 1838. Her issue were:

- b. 1797. Frederick Augustus V., King of Saxony, m. 1stly, Caroline, daughter of Francis I., Emperor of Austria, and 2ndly, Mary Ann, daughter of Maximilian I., King of Bavaria, d. s. p. 1854.
  - b. 1828. Frederick, Prince Royal of Saxony, m. 1853, Caroline, daughter of Prince Gustavus Vasa.
  - b. 1832. George.
  - b. 1827. Mary.
- b. 1801. John, reigning King of Saxony, m. Amelia, daughter of Maximilian I., of Bavaria, has issue.
- b. 1794. Amelia, s. p.
- b. 1796. Mary, m. Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, s. p.
- b. 1799. Mary Anne, m. Leopold, reigning Grand Duke of Tuscany, d. 1832, leaving issue.
  - b. 1822. Caroline, d. s. p.
  - b. 1825. Augusta, m. 1844, Leopold, of Bavaria. Issue,
    - b. 1845. Louis.
    - b. 1846. Leopold.
    - b. 1852. Arnulph.
    - b. 1850. Theresa.
- b. 1803. Josephine, m. Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, d. s. p. 1828.
- b. 1830. Elizabeth, m. Ferdinand Duke of Genoa, has issue.
  - b. 1854. Thomas.
  - b. 1851. Marguerite.
- b. 1834. Sidonia, betrothed to the King of Sardinia.
- b. 1836. Anne, m. 1856, the Hereditary Prince of Tuscany.
- b. 1840. Marguerite. m. 1856, the Archduke Charles Louis, brother of the Emperor of Austria.
- b. 1845. Sophia.

Louisa, born 1751, second daughter of Mary Louisa, of France, and Philip, Duke of Parma, as the bride of Charles IV., King of Spain, is infamously noted in Spanish history. By her intrigues and unprincipled *liaison* with Godoy, Prince of Peace, this dissolute woman more surely accomplished the ruin of her country than ever the

unaided arms of Napoleon could have done. Charles IV. and his Queen, as is well known, were ultimately dethroned by that monarch's intrigues. They retired into Italy, where they died in obscurity, though not until after they had witnessed the final downfall of the Tyrant. Their issue were :

b. 1784. Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, m. 1stly, Mary Antoinette, daughter of Ferdinand I., King of Naples; 2ndly, 1816, Isabella, daughter of John VI., King of Portugal; 3rdly, 1819, Josephine, daughter of Maximilian of Saxony; 4thly, 1830, Christina, daughter of Francis I., King of Naples, by which last wife he had issue, d. 1833, leaving issue.

- b. 1830. Isabella II., reigning Queen of Spain, m. 1846, her cousin Francis. Issue.
  - b. 1851. Isabella, Princess of Asturias.

b. 1788. Charles V., (titular) King of Spain, known as Don Carlos, m. 1stly, 1816, Frances, daughter of John VI., King of Portugal; 2ndly, 1838, Theresa, another daughter of John VI., King of Portugal. By his first wife he had issue, d. 1855.

- b. 1833. Louisa, m. 1846, Duc de Montpensier, son of Louis Philippe, of France. Issue.
  - b. 1848. Maria Isabella.

b. 1794. Francis, m. 1819, Louisa, daughter of Francis I., King of Naples.

- b. 1851. Amelia.

b. 1775. Charlotte, m. John VI., King of Portugal, d.

- b. 1818. Charles VI., (titular) King of Spain, (Count de Montemolin) m. 1850, Caroline, daughter of Francis I., King of Naples.
  - b. 1852. Christina.
- b. 1822. John, m. 1847, Mary, daughter of Francis IV., Duke of Modena, s. m.
- b. 1824. Ferdinand.

b. 1779. Amelia, m. her uncle Antony, d. s. p. 1798.

b. 1782. Mary Lousia, m. Louis, King of Etruria, d. s. m. 1824.

b. 1789. Isabella, m. Francis I., King of Naples, d. 1848.

b. 1791. Theresa, d. s. p.

Francis de Paula, born 1794, who married, 1819, Louisa, eldest daughter of Francis I., King of Naples, has issue:

- b. 1820. Francis, m. his cousin Isabella, Queen of Spain, s. m.
- b. 1822. Henry, Duke of Seville: has forfeited his rank as Infant of Spain by his marriage with a Spanish lady.
- b. 1832. Ferdinand, d. s. p. 1854.
- b. 1821. Isabella: has forfeited her rank as Infanta of Spain by her marriage with Count Gurowsky.
- b. 1824. Louisa: has forfeited her rank as Infanta of Spain by her marriage with the Duke de Sessa.
- b. 1827. Josephine: has forfeited her rank as Infanta of Spain by her marriage with Don José Guely Rente.
- b. 1833. Mary Christina,
- b. 1834. Amelia: m. 1856, Prince Adalbert, of Bavaria.

Charlotte, born 1775, eldest daughter of Louisa and Charles IV., King of Spain, married John VI., King of Portugal, by whom she had issue:

- b. 1798. Pedro I., Emperor of Brazil, m. 1stly, Leopoldina, daughter of Francis I., of Austria; 2ndly, Amelia, daughter of Eugene, Duke of Leuchtenberg, d. 1834. Issue by first wife,
  - b. 1825. Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, m. 1843, Theresa, daughter of Francis I., of Naples. Issue,
    - b. 1846. Isabella.
    - b. 1847. Leopoldina.
  - b. 1819. Maria da Gloria, Queen of Portugal, m. 1stly, 1835, Augustus, Duc de Leuchtenberg; 2ndly, 1836, Ferdinand, Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha. d. 1853. Issue by second husband,
    - b. 1837. Pedro V., reigning King of Portugal.
    - b. 1838. Louis Philip, Duke of Oporto.
    - b. 1842. John, Duke of Beja.
    - b. 1846. Ferdinand.
    - b. 1847. Augustus.
    - b. 1843. Mary Anne.
    - b. 1845. Antoinette.
- b. 1802. Miguel I., Ex-King of Portugal m. 1851, daughter of the Prince de Rosenberg; has issue two children.
- b. 1793. Theresa, m. 1stly, Peter of Spain; 2ndly, 1838, Don Carlos. Issue by first husband,
  - b. 1822. Januaria, m. 1844, Louis, Count of Aquila, son of Francis I., of Naples.
  - b. 1824. Frances, m. 1843, the Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philip, of France.
- b. 1797. Isabella, m. 1816, Ferdinand VII., King of Spain. d. s. p. 1818.
- b. 1800. Frances, m. 1816, Don Carlos, of Spain. d. s. m. 1834.
- b. 1801. Isabella, d. s. p. 1855.
- b. 1806. Anne, m. 1827, the Marquis de Loulé. s. p.
  - b. 1811. Sebastian, m. 1832, Amelia, daughter of Francis I., King of Naples. s. p.

Januaria, Countess of Aquila, born 1822, has issue:

b. 1845.	b. 1847.	b. 1846.
Louis.	— Philip.	— Mary.

Frances, Princess de Joinville, born 1824, has issue:

b. 1845.	b. 1844.
Peter, Duke of Penthievre.	Frances.

Isabella, born 1789, fourth daughter of Louisa and Charles IV., King of Spain, married Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies, by whom she had issue:

b. 1810.	b. 1811.	b. 1813.	b. 1824.	b. 1827.	b. 1804.	b. 1806.	b. 1814.	b. 1818.	b. 1820.	b. 1822.
Ferdinand II., reigning King of the Two Sicilies, m. 1stly, 1832, Christina, daughter of Victor Emanuel I., King of Sardinia; 2ndly, 1837, Theresa, daughter of Archduke Charles, of Austria. Issue by second wife,	— Charles, Count of Capua. s. p.	— Leopold, Count of Syracuse, m. 1837, Mary of Savoy Carignan. s. p.	— Louis, Count of Aquila, m. 1844, Januaria, daughter of Pedro I., Emperor of Brazil. s. m.	— Francis, Count of Trapani, m. 1850, Isabella, daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Has two children.	— Louisa, m. 1819, Francis, son of Charles IV. of Spain. d. s. m. 1844.	— Christina, m. 1829, Ferdinand VII. King of Spain. s. m.	— Antoinette, m. 1833, Leopold, reigning Grand Duke of Tuscany.	— Amelia, m. 1832, Don Sebastian, of Spain. s. p.	— Caroline, m. 1850, Charles VI., titular King of Spain. s.p.	— Theresa, m. 1843, Pedro II., reigning Emperor of Brazil. s. m.

b. 1838.	b. 1841.	b. 1846.	b. 1851.	b. 1852.	b. 1843.	b. 1844.	b. 1849.	b. 1855.
Louis, Count of Trani.	— Alphonso, Count of Caserta.	— Gaëtan, Count of Girgenti.	— Vincent, Count of Milazzo.	— Pascal, Count of Bari.	— Annunciation.	— Immaculate.	— Mary.	— Louisa.

Antoinette, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, born 1814, has issue :

b. 1835. Ferdinand, m. 1856, Anne, daughter of King John, of Saxony. — b. 1839. Charles. — b. 1847. Louis. — b. 1852. John. — b. 1834. Isabella, m. 1850, Francis, Count of Trapani. s. m. — b. 1845. Louisa.

The following are the Descendants of Anne of Sardinia, at present living; arranged in the order of succession they would have exhibited to the British Throne, had they not been excluded by their profession of Roman Catholicism. In these royal personages alone concentres the Representation of the House of Stuart; which, as will be seen, vests primarily in that of the reigning Dynasty of Modena, and after that in those of Parma, Naples, Saxony, Spain, Brazil, and Portugal (and the legitimate Bourbon dynasty of France) consecutively :—

The Ducal Family of Modena.

1. Francis V., Duke of Modena, representative of Charles I., b. 1819, s. p. •
2. Mary Theresa, Princess of Modena, b. 1849 (heiress apparent).
3. Theresa, Queen of France *de jure*, née Princess of Modena, b. 1817, s. p.
4. Mary, wife of Don Juan of Spain, née Princess of Modena, b. 1824.

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5. Theresa, Ex-Duchess of Parma, née Princess of Sardinia, b. 1803.
6. Anne, Ex-Empress of Austria, née Princess of Sardinia, b. 1803, s. p.
7. Francis, Prince Royal of the Two Sicilies, b. 1836.

The Royal Family of France.

8. Henry V., titular King of France, b. 1820, s. p.
9. Louisa, Regent Duchess of Parma, née Princess of France, b. 1819, s. m.

The Ducal Family of Parma.

10. Charles II., Ex-Duke of Parma, b. 1799, s. m.
11. Louisa, Dowager Duchess of Saxony, née Princess of Parma, b. 1802, s. p.

The Royal Family of Saxony.

12. John, King of Saxony, b. 1801.
13. Amelia, Princess of Saxony, b. 1794, s. p.
14. Mary, Dowager Duchess of Tuscany, née Princess of Saxony, b. 1796, s. p.
15. Augusta, wife of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, née Princess of Tuscany, b. 1825.

The Royal Family of Spain.

16. Isabella II., Queen of Spain, b. 1830.
17. Louisa, Duchess of Montpensier, née Princess of Spain, b. 1833.
18. Charles VI., titular King of Spain, b. 1818, s. p.
19. John, Infant of Spain, b. 1822, s. m.
20. Ferdinand, Infant of Spain, b. 1824.
21. Francis de Paula, Infant of Spain, b. 1794.

The Royal Families of Brazil and Portugal.

22. Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, b. 1825.
23. Pedro V., King of Portugal, b. 1837.
24. Louis Philip, Duke of Oporto, b. 1838.
25. John, Duke of Beja, b. 1842.
26. Ferdinand, Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, b. 1846.
27. Augustus, Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, b. 1847.
28. Mary Anne, Princess of Portugal, b. 1843.
29. Antoinette, Princess of Portugal, b. 1845.
30. Januaria, Countess of Aquila, née Princess of Brazil, b. 1822.
31. Frances, Princess de Joinville, née Princess of Brazil, b. 1824.
32. Miguel I., Ex-King of Portugal, b. 1802.
33. Theresa, titular Dowager Queen of Spain, née Princess of Brazil, b. 1793.
34. Anne, Marchioness de Loulé, née Princess of Brazil, b. 1806, s. p.

The Royal Family of the Two Sicilies.

35. Ferdinand II., King of the Two Sicilies, b. 1810.
36. Charles, Count of Capua, b. 1811, s. p.
37. Leopold, Count of Syracuse, b. 1813, s. p.
38. Louis, Count of Aquila, b. 1824, s. m.
39. Francis, Count of Trapani, b. 1827.

40. Christina, Dowager Queen of Spain, née Princess of the Two Sicilies, b. 1806, s. m.
41. Antoinette, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, née Princess of the Two Sicilies, b. 1814.
42. Amelia, wife of the Infant Sebastian of Spain, née Princess of the Two Sicilies, b. 1818, s. p.
43. Caroline, titular Queen of Spain, née Princess of the Two Sicilies, b. 1820, s. p.
44. Theresa, Empress of Brazil, née Princess of the Two Sicilies, b. 1822, s. m.

IV.

ELIZABETH CHARLOTTE,

DUCHESS OF ORLEANS,

Née Princess Palatine.

The life of Elizabeth Charlotte, Princess Palatine of the Rhine, presents greater facilities for the pen of her autobiographer than that of any of her cotemporaries, for with such *naïveté* has this lady pourtrayed herself in her writings, that little doubt can remain as to the genuineness of her character.* When we inform our readers that this Princess spent nearly the whole of her time in letter writing, some idea may be formed of her voluminous correspondence. Every day witnessed a regular series emanate from her pen, which she divided between her aunt Sophia, Electress of Hanover, to whom she wrote on Sundays and Thursdays; her step-daughters, Mary Louisa, Queen of Spain, and Anne, Queen of Sardinia, to whom she devoted Mondays; her daughter, Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Lorraine, who engrossed Sundays, Tuesdays, and Fridays; and her grand-daughter, Charlotte, Duchess of Modena, for whom she reserved Wednesdays; on Saturdays she brought up the arrears of the week. "Sometimes," she says, "after having written twenty sheets to the Princess of Wales,† ten or twelve to

* See Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

† Afterwards Queen Caroline, wife of George II.

my daughter, and twenty to the Queen of Sicily,* I am so tired that I can hardly set one foot before another;" an assertion we can readily credit.

This indefatigable princess, to whose writings posterity is so indebted, was the only daughter of Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, by his wife, the injured Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel, and first saw the light in her father's ancient ancestral palace of Heidelberg, on the seventh day of July, 1652. She was baptized according to the rites of the Protestant Church, and received the names of Elizabeth Charlotte, the former in compliment to her grandmother, the Queen of Bohemia, and the latter after her mother.

We have casually noticed, in our relation of the father of this princess, the unhappy disputes between her parents, consequent on the Elector's undisguised *liaison* with Mademoiselle de Dagenfeld, the daughter of a Suabian officer, and one of the electress's *filles d'honneur*. Whatever were the charms of the fair commoner, and they are said to have been of a superior order, they in no wise excuse the elector's contemptuous treatment of his lawful wife. That the latter was a woman of spirit there is little reason to doubt; but that her eccentricities, if such they may be termed, were provoked by the ill conduct of her spouse, is equally certain. What could be more mortifying to the poor Electress than to find herself supplanted in her household by one of her own

* Afterwards Queen of Sardinia, but who for some years bore the title of Queen of Sicily.

maidens? Yet, such was actually the case, for so infatuated did Charles become with his charmer, and so lost to all sense of decorum, that in 1658 he publicly espoused her at the castle of Heidelberg (by a left-handed contract of marriage, then common among the German princes), and that whilst his injured wife remained an inmate confined to her apartments by his orders.

The much decried conduct of Louis Quatorze, in so openly displaying to the world the ascendancy exercised over him by his mistresses, yet affords no parallel to that of Charles Louis; for the former paid his wife every public mark of attention, and caused the same to be exacted for her from others; whilst Charles Louis openly neglected his, banished her from his presence, and installed his mistress in her place.

One day the unfortunate Charlotte, enraged by some fresh proof of her husband's infidelity, drew forth a pistol and pointed it at her successful rival, but was prevented from doing her any injury by Count Hohenlohe, who dashed the weapon from her hand. Finally, wearied with vain importunities, which served rather to alienate than to reclaim her spouse, Charlotte appealed to the Emperor for redress; but he, after patiently hearing a statement of her grievances, was unable or unwilling to interfere. We may mention, to avoid interruption to our narrative, that the Electress ultimately escaped from her husband's court, where she

had long been detained as a prisoner, and took refuge with her brother, the Elector of Hesse-Cassel; from whence she never returned. In later years, and when all hope of a successor to the princely line of Simmeren was deemed hopeless, Charles Louis endeavoured to urge upon her the necessity of a formal divorce, but to this proposal she positively refused to accede. Her sister-in-law, Elizabeth, who vainly tried to mediate between the parties, incurred much odium at the time, by her well-meaning, though somewhat injudicious attempts to further this negotiation.*

This princess, who until her sister's escape had resided at Heidelberg, took her departure with her; so that henceforth Mademoiselle de Dagenfeld, since her marriage created a countess, reigned supreme, and received all the honours due to the exalted station, which, whether willingly or unwillingly, she had usurped.

It is evident that such a home must have been a very improper one for the little Lizette; and so convinced was even her father of this, that he took the first opportunity which presented itself of removing her from its contaminating influences. At the time we are alluding to, his sisters, Elizabeth and Sophia, resided with him at the castle of Heidelberg; with the former he was never on good terms, for she was a woman whose life evinced the rectitude of her principles, governed and sanctified by religion;

* Baroness de Bury's Life of Princess Palatine.

and her tastes but little accorded with those of her licentious brother, notwithstanding he cloaked his failings under the specious mask of religious zeal. Indeed, so opposed were his practices to his professions, that Elizabeth openly lectured him for his inconsistency, and her arguments had so much the greater weight, as they were corroborated by the unsullied purity of her life. This lecturing particularly annoyed the Elector, who, as he was unable to rebut his sister's charges, felt all the more chagrined with her for exposing him.

With Sophia he was on very different terms; she was ten years younger than Elizabeth, and whilst possessing all the charms and personal graces of her elder sister, she combined with them a sprightliness and *naïveté* which endeared her to all beholders. On two points only was she inferior to Elizabeth; she possessed not her ardent religious faith, and she was devoid of her intense love of learning. She was decidedly the Elector's favourite sister, and it was in compliance with his wishes, or rather orders, that she accepted the addresses of Prince Ernest Augustus, youngest brother of the Duke of Hanover, a match considered every way disproportionate to her.* She was married in 1658, and on her departure from Heidelberg, Charles Louis confided his little daughter to her care.

* See the letters addressed by the Queen of Bohemia to her son, in which she bitterly reproaches him for consenting to so unsuitable an alliance for his youngest sister.—Bromley's Royal Letters. Benger's Queen of Bohemia.

It is to be lamented that the Elector did not give the preference to his elder sister, for had he done so the future career of Elizabeth Charlotte might have been very different from what it was, it being difficult to conceive that a woman so thoroughly pious as Elizabeth would not have imbued her pupil with her own religious principles; and be it remembered, if the Princess Palatine had remained steadfast to her ancestors' faith, the fair inheritance of the crown of England would have been her portion. Not that we would insinuate that Sophia neglected her little charge; on the contrary, we believe that, as far as she was able, she sought diligently to qualify her for the position she might subsequently fill. This is abundantly evident from the after career of her pupil, for to her aunt's instructions, and those of her gouvernante, Madame d'Harling, may be fairly attributed that love of learning and contempt for frivolous employments which through life distinguished the Princess Palatine. Yet though Sophia was herself a firm Protestant, she lacked that sense of genuine religion which pervades the heart of those who give themselves unreservedly to God. This feeling of luminous devotion shone forth conspicuously in Elizabeth, who was one of the most pious ladies of the day; nor was her faith, if we except, perhaps, her intense dislike of Romanism, a bigoted one, for with all who bore the name of Protestants, and who shadowed forth in their lives

any resemblance to the Divine Original, she loved to consort and associate.* The celebrated Penn was of the number of those whom she especially loved and honoured; so that there is every reason to believe, had her niece been confided to her care, she would hardly have embraced a religion so repugnant to her aunt, that its adoption was viewed as more terrible than death; for so, on the conversion of her brother Edward to Romanism, does this princess express herself to the philosopher Descartes, himself, too, a Romanist! It is to be regretted that a disposition so naturally amiable as Elizabeth Charlotte's, should not have received better cultivation, and that, failing the inculcation, or perhaps we should in justice say, reception of sound religious principles, she should have forfeited the prospective privileges conferred upon her by her birth. Her taste for masculine amusements ought also to have been more effectually checked; though, perhaps, her governess was not wholly in fault here, as it does sometimes happen that persons of this princess's stubborn temperament refuse to mould themselves into any but their natural bent, and stamp with their distinctive impress the manners and customs of an age; and such assuredly would have been the case with Elizabeth

* Elizabeth's dislike of Romanism partook more of the character of a political than a religious prejudice. If the insults and indignities her family had suffered at the hands of the Romanist party be considered, it can hardly excite surprise, that by an unnatural process of logic she should have confounded together the persons and ritual of her persecutors.

Charlotte, had she been called upon to occupy a position of regal dignity.

While under her aunt Sophia's tuition, Elizabeth generally resided at Hanover, varying the monotony of her residence there by an interchange of visits with her grandmother, the Queen of Bohemia, at the Hague. It will be remembered, that the Princess Royal of England, daughter of Charles I., had married the Prince of Orange, and been early left a widow. She then held her court at the Hague with all the pomp of a dowager princess; and the difference between her circumstances and those of her portionless cousins caused some little jealousy to the latter. This being premised, Elizabeth's account of a visit she paid her cousin, in the company of her grandmother, will be found both piquant and interesting. She thus, in her unsophisticated language, narrates it:—"My aunt, our dear Electress of Hanover, being at the Hague, did not visit the princess royal, but the Queen of Bohemia did, and took me with her. Before I set out, my aunt said to me, 'Lizette, now take care not to behave as you generally do (an admonition we fear much needed), and do not wander away so that you cannot be found;—follow the queen step by step, so that she may not have to wait for you.' 'Oh aunt,' I replied, 'you shall hear how well I will behave myself!' When we arrived at the princess royal's, whom I did not know, I saw her son, whom

I had often played with.* After gazing for a long time at his mother, without knowing who she was, I went back to see if I could find any one who would tell me her name. Seeing only the Prince of Orange, I accosted him thus, 'Pray can you tell me who is that woman with so tremendous a nose?' He laughed, and answered, 'That is my mother, the princess royal.' † I was quite stupefied. That I might compose myself, Mademoiselle Hyde ‡ took me with the prince into the princess's bedchamber, where we played all sorts of games. I had told them to call me when the queen was ready to go, and we were rolling on a Turkey carpet when I was summoned; I arose in great haste and ran into the hall, but the queen was already in the antechamber. Without losing a moment, I seized the robe of the princess royal, and making her a curtsey at the same moment, placed myself directly before her, and followed the queen step by step into her carriage; everybody was laughing at me, but I had no idea what it was for. When we returned home, the queen sought out my aunt, and seating herself upon the bed, burst into a loud laugh. 'Lisette,' said she, 'has made a delightful visit;' and then she recounted all I had done, which made the Electress laugh even more than her mother. She called me

* William III. of England.

† The Princess of Orange, née Princess Royal, was so proud of her original title, that she retained it even after her marriage with the Prince of Orange.

First wife of James II.

to her and said, 'Lisette, you have done right, you have revenged us well for the haughtiness of the princess.'"*

One of the most pleasing traits in Elizabeth Charlotte's character was her devoted affection for her instructresses. She constantly corresponded with them, and scarcely does she mention her aunt's name without accompanying it with some loving epithet. Proof of this will be found in her assertion, that she would have married our William III. (her games with whom we have just been recounting), for the sake of remaining near her dear Electress of Hanover. Although the compliment to her would-be spouse in this assertion is dubious, the affection it betrays for her aunt is unmistakeable, and bespeaks more truly the innate goodness of her heart than any laboured panegyric or funeral oration.

When Elizabeth's education was completed, which was conducted under the auspices, if not the direct teaching of her aunt Sophia, she returned to the paternal roof, where she had long been a stranger. It was not the happiest of homes; for her mother had been long banished from it, and her father's new wife had presented him with a numerous family, whose claims naturally jostled with those of his legitimate children. Nevertheless Madame de Dagenfeld, who was of an amiable disposition, gained her step-daughter's regard; and Elizabeth, in after

* Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

years oft reverted with regret to the home of her dear fatherland.

As the Princess Palatine advanced in years suitors for her hand were not wanting, albeit her want of personal attractions was notorious; but whether they were won by the goodness of her heart or captivated by her dowry is questionable. She herself believed it to be the latter. In her writings she gives a humorous account of them, with the feminine tactics she adopted. Let us, however, first describe the person of our heroine, which we will do in her own words, merely premising that Elizabeth, unlike many of her cotemporaries, has underrated rather than overdrawn her pretensions. She says, "I am unquestionably very ugly; I have no features; my eyes are small, my nose is short and thick, my lips long and flat: these do not constitute much of a physiognomy. I have great hanging cheeks and a large face; my stature is short and stout; my body and my thighs, too, are short; and, upon the whole, I am truly a very ugly little object. If I had not a good heart, no one could endure me. To know whether my eyes give token of my possessing wit, they must be examined with a microscope, or it will be difficult to judge. Hands more ugly than mine are perhaps not to be found in the whole globe. The king has often told me so, and made me laugh at it heartily; for not being able to flatter myself that I possessed any one thing which could be called pretty, I resolved to be the first to laugh at my

own ugliness. This has succeeded as well as could be wished; and I must confess that I am seldom at a loss for something to laugh at." This portraiture of the princess, with due allowances for her modesty, seems a tolerably correct one; though it may not be amiss to state, that other writers formed a somewhat higher estimate of her personal charms.

Having thus given our readers a *résumé* of the princess's personal attractions, let us turn to her suitors in the order in which they presented themselves. First and foremost among them was Frederick, Margrave of Baden Dourlach,* a lover recommended by the powerful advocacy of her brother; but to him Elizabeth objected that he was affected, which she could not bear. This prince, before marrying, sent to ask her whether he ought not to obey his father, and marry another princess; to which somewhat novel request she replied, "that he could not do better than obey his father; that he had promised her nothing, nor did she consider herself pledged to him; but that, nevertheless, she was obliged to him for the conduct he had thought fit to pursue towards her;" and this, she informs us, is all that passed between them. Another of her suitors was Frederick Casimir, Duke of Courland,† a prince recommended by her aunt Elizabeth, abbess of Hervord, who seems to have been somewhat partial to this family, as a few years after we

* Born 1648. † Born 1650.

find her again advocating an alliance between her brother Rupert and the Princess Charlotte of Courland.* Unfortunately this prince was in love with the Princess Mary Anne of Wirtemburg (the neglected, though sometime chosen, bride of James II.); but his union with this lady was opposed by his father and mother, who wished him to marry Elizabeth Charlotte. "When, however," this lady writes, "he came back from France, on his way home, I made such an impression on him, that he would not hear of marrying, but requested permission to join the army." And thus was the unfortunate Mary Anne of Wirtemburg twice forsaken by her lovers. Disconsolate at her misfortunes, this princess ultimately relinquished the world, and entered the Ursuline convent at Lyons, where she died, 1698.†

These negotiations having failed, and William III., whom Elizabeth would have so obligingly espoused for the sake of her aunt's company, not coming forward, a suitor at length presented himself, who was considered by her father and her family an eligible wooer, albeit the price of his alliance was her renunciation of the Protestant faith. This was no other than Philip, Duke of Orleans, the only brother of Louis XIV., and heir to the French monarchy after that king's son, the Dauphin. He was the widower, moreover, of her deceased cousin Hen-

* Baroness de Bury's Princess Palatine.

† Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

rietta, who had been poisoned only a year previously. That Elizabeth received his addresses unwillingly, and then only in compliance with the expressed will of her father is certain, for she says, "If my father had loved me as well as I loved him, he would never have sent me into a country so dangerous as France, to which I came through pure obedience, and against my own inclination." This assertion of hers is corroborated by the Duc de St. Simon, who informs us that "she always pretended to have conferred an obligation on her husband by marrying him." Madame de Sévigné must have been misinformed, when she says, that Elizabeth was "quite dazzled with her grandeur;" though, in fact, this lady only records it as an *on dit*, and not as the result of her own personal observations. That Philip was not the lover to captivate the affections of the frank and intrepid Princess Palatine is clear, for though handsome, brave, and not devoid of good qualities, he was vain, weak-minded, and effeminate; in other words, "a good sort of a man, notwithstanding his weaknesses," "which oftener," as his wife cuttingly remarks, "excited her pity than her anger." She thus describes his personal appearance and pursuits: "Monsieur," she says, "without having a vulgar air is very small, his hair and eyebrows are quite black, his eyes are dark, his face long and narrow, his nose large, his mouth small, and his teeth very bad; he is fond of play, of holding drawing-rooms, of eating, dancing, and

dress, in short, of all that women are fond of; he affects large parties and masquerades, and though his brother is a man of great gallantry, I do not believe my husband was ever in love during his life. He dances well, but in a feminine manner, he cannot dance like a man, because his shoes are too high-heeled (this was to conceal his lowness of stature). Excepting when he is with the army, he never gets on horseback. The soldiers say he is more afraid of being sunburnt and of the blackness of the powder than of the musket-balls, and it is very true. He is particularly fond of hearing the ringing of bells, so much so that on All Souls Day, when the bells are rung throughout Paris during the vigils, he goes there expressly to hear them; for this he is often laughed at by his friends. He writes so badly that he is often puzzled to read his own letters, when he will bring them to me to decipher, saying laughingly, 'Here, madame, you are accustomed to my writing, be so good as to read me this, for really I cannot tell what I have been writing.' He is of a good disposition enough, if he did not yield to the bad advice of his favourites. He is fond of talking, although the king his brother is very taciturn, and the latter sometimes says, that 'Monsieur's eternal chattering puts him out of conceit with talking.' He is very affable, and is more generally liked at Paris than the king, though he does not possess that power of making himself so specially agreeable to particular people as his

brother does."* This statement is corroborated by the Duke of St. Simon, who says, "All the court loved Monsieur; it was he who chose its amusements, and was the soul of its pleasures; and when he was taken from it all life and energy seemed extinct. He had learned and well retained from the Queen, his mother, the art of pleasing, and without suffering any diminution of his grandeur he carried perfect liberty wherever he went, and it was in this manner that the crowd was always to be found at the Palais Royal."† Madame gives it as her opinion, that "Monsieur was not really fond of women, though not to be out of fashion, and to please the king his brother, he sometimes pretended to be so, though even then he could not long keep up a deception so contrary to his natural character. His education had been so completely neglected by Cardinal Mazarine that he could scarcely read or write, for being naturally a cleverer man than his brother it was feared he might supplant him had his talents been cultivated; the consequence was he was incapable of anything. "Never," says the Duke of St. Simon, "was seen a person of his rank with so little spirit, or who was weaker, more timid, or more easily misled, and governed by favourites."‡

Such was the man whom Elizabeth was forced to wed, and for whom her father with unparalleled effrontery compelled her to renounce the Protestant faith. Could the mean-spirited Elector have fore-

* Duchess of Orleans. † St. Simon. ‡ St. Simon.

seen that she was thereby signing away her future dignity of Queen of England, how eagerly would he have retarded what he now sought to enforce! Her marriage with the Duke of Orleans had been primarily suggested by her aunt Anne (the widow of her uncle, Prince Edward Palatine), and to this lady, who resided at Paris, the King of France confided the management of the negotiation on the part of his brother; the Marquis de Bethune being chosen on that of the Elector Palatine.

All preliminaries having been settled between the two plenipotentiaries, the Elector conducted his daughter as far as Strasburg; and on her arrival at Metz she was met by her aunt. Her equipage was but a sorry one, and of the most conspicuous of the party was Father Jourdain, a Jesuit priest entrusted with the mission of her conversion.* This sole remaining obstacle to her marriage was, alas! too easily adjusted. There cannot be a doubt on the minds of those who have perused her correspondence, that, before setting out from Germany, Elizabeth had fully determined on abjuring the Protestant faith; in fact, her renunciation of it was one of the first articles in her marriage contract. To save appearances, however, three bishops were despatched to meet her at Metz, ostensibly to labour for her conversion. The ready wit of the princess soon detected the varying opinions of these men, glorying

* Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

in mere outward observances; so taking the quintessence of their tenets she formed a religion of her own.* It is plain that her conversion, such as it was, was insincere: possibly she thought if she subscribed to those articles of the Romish faith common to all good Christians, and repudiated the erroneous, she was justified in a nominal conformity; although there is too much reason to fear that either creed was alike indifferent to her.

Yet what a melancholy example does Elizabeth present of the constancy of those who were deemed the champions of Protestantism! That Charles Louis was infinitely more to blame than his too obedient daughter is obvious; for who could have believed that the elector, when he loaded his brother Edward with invectives, saying, "He knew he (Edward) could not be well persuaded of the

* Perhaps at no period has the Romish Church been more rent with divisions than during the reign of Louis XIV. The paper war which raged between the Jansenists and the Jesuits was as furious as it was interminable; but the former party, though infinitely superior to their adversaries in doctrine, morality, and learning, were ultimately vanquished by the powerful influence of Madame de Maintenon and the king's confessors, which latter were invariably selected from the Jesuits. The celebrated Fenelon, preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy, was considered, and justly so, as the most talented of the Jansenists; but this prelate, though at first favoured and even promoted to the Archbishopric of Cambray, died disgraced and in exile from the court. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, preceptor of the Grand Dauphin, was the great rival and antagonist of this good man. Duclos relates it as a curious circumstance, that nearly all the members of the Royal Family changed their Jesuit for Jansenist confessors on their death-beds; Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, the Grand Dauphiness, and the Duchess of Burgundy among the number. No wonder that Elizabeth Charlotte found diversity of opinion among her would-be instructors.

fopperies of the Church of Rome, having been so diligently instructed to the contrary,"* would have sanctioned, nay urged upon his daughter her adoption of the repudiated faith? yet so it was, for so strong was Charles Louis's love of money, that it silenced in him all considerations of common honesty.†

Elizabeth having made her public renunciation of Protestantism, been received into the bosom of the Romish Church, and communicated according to its rites, espoused, on the same day, the Duke of Orleans; the Marshal du Plessis acting as that prince's proxy: a proceeding upon which La Grande Mademoiselle wittily remarks that "Elizabeth effected much in a day."

As soon as the ceremony was over a courier was despatched to Monsieur with the intelligence, who on receipt of it set out for Chalons, there to await his expected bride; and there on Elizabeth's arrival the second nuptial ceremony took place on the twenty-first of November, 1671.

From Chalons the bride and bridegroom set out for the Chateau Nerf, the duke's Paris residence (which has since been destroyed by fire), stopping

* Bromley's Royal Letters. Benger's Queen of Bohemia.

† It must be remembered that the Elector, who so contentedly witnessed what he must have deemed his daughter's perversion, had (during the civil commotions in England) sat in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, where he distinguished himself by his zealous advocacy of Calvinism. He had, moreover, offered to fight under the Parliamentary banner, and enlisted the services of his brother Philip for that party; although the latter, wise in their generation, had rejected from suspicious motives his proffered assistance.

on their way at Villars-Cotterets, where they were visited by the king.

Elizabeth's public introduction at the French court which next followed, a formidable affair at the best of times, was doubly so to the poor German Princess, who could with difficulty comprehend its language. Nothing in fact could be more unenviable than her situation, for excepting the king who stood her friend she had no extraneous support to rely upon, as Monsieur, far from assisting, rather impeded and insulted her forlorn position. As we cannot hope to rival her graphic description of the difficulties she encountered, we quote her account of her reception, with the troubles she surmounted on that occasion. Happily hers was not a disposition to quail under perplexities!

"When I arrived at St. Germain," she says, "I felt as if I had fallen from the clouds. The Princess Palatine" (her aunt) "went to Paris, and there fixed me. I put as good a face upon the affair as was possible; I saw very well that I did not please my husband, and indeed that could not be wondered at, considering my ugliness; however, I resolved to conduct myself in such a manner towards him that he should become accustomed to my attentions, and eventually enabled to endure me. Immediately on my arrival, the king came to see me at the Chateau Nerf, where Monsieur and I lived; he brought with him the Dauphin, who was then a child about ten

years old. As soon as I had finished my toilette the king returned to the old chateau, where he received me in the guards' hall, and led me to the queen, whispering at the same time, 'Do not be frightened, Madame, she will be more afraid of you, than you of her.' The king felt so much the embarrassment of my situation, that he would not quit me; he sate by my side, and whenever it was necessary for me to rise, that is to say, whenever a prince or a duke entered the apartment, he gave me a gentle push in the side without being perceived."

Of the glories and gallantries of the brilliant court to which Elizabeth was here introduced the life of this princess is not the place to descant upon. A full account of its splendours, its rivalries, and its courtly intrigues will be found in the memoirs of the day.* Suffice it if we briefly enumerate those members of the royal family, with whom more particularly the new madame would associate.

First and foremost was the king, the renowned Louis Quartorze, whose reign, unprecedented in magnificence, inaugurated the ancient *régime*, and before whom, so revered, so beloved, so adored, bent in lowly submission the proud nobles of France; those nobles, who, 'mid the wars of the League and the Fronde, had dictated to their country a sove-

* See Mémoires du Duc de St. Simon, Mesdames de Maintenon, de Sévigné, de Caylus, La Grande Mademoiselle, and the Marquis de Dangeau.

reign,* and ruled as monarchs themselves. Now how changed their position, how fallen their renown! for whilst the lately despised king ruled with an authority unknown since the days of Charlemagne, a prince whom he affected to consider as his great prototype; they, on the contrary, submitted to the slightest intimation of their sovereign's will, and openly gloried in their passive obedience to his commands. Never, perhaps, has monarch with such unlimited authority ruled more in consonance with the wishes of his people, or been more readily and cheerfully obeyed. Sooth to say, the nation, wearied with its eternal contests, gratefully acknowledged the benefits resulting from his sway. Nor, it is pleasing to reflect, was their attachment misplaced, for when we consider the homage, bordering more on idolatry which Louis received, it is impossible not to admire the zeal with which he laboured for the public interests; and the assiduity with which, despite all temptations to the contrary, he regularly attended and judged for himself of the most important national concerns. Truly did he earn and deserve the glorious epithet of "Le Grand!" His reign of seventy-two years, unparalleled for dura-

* Charles X., uncle of Henry IV., whom the party of the League nominated to the throne on the death of Henry III. This prince never actually reigned, as he was a prisoner in the hands of the opposite (the Protestant) party at the time of his election. He died shortly after his elevation, and as his title was never universally recognised, is only known as the Cardinal de Bourbon. He was the third brother of Anthony, King of Navarre, of whom the youngest was Louis, first prince of the House of Condé.

tion in Christian annals, attests the clemency of his disposition, as only one execution for high treason marred its dignity and serenity; whilst the absence of a single conspiracy against his life affords the best proof of his wisdom and popularity. His only political fault, for his other failings scarcely deserve so harsh a name, was his persecution of the Huguenots. This, which, as a consummate diplomatist once observed, "was even worse than a fault, for it was a blunder," cannot sufficiently be condemned; though be it remembered in extenuation of his error that he only acted in consonance with the maxims of the age, which enjoined on the civil ruler the duty of prescribing the religion of his people, from which public profession of faith no divergence was permitted. *Revenons nous* to the monarch personally.

Louis, at the period we are speaking of, had just completed his thirty-third year, and was in all the pride of manly vigour so natural to that period of life. "He was," says his sister-in-law, "the finest man in his kingdom; no one could have a better appearance, or more agreeable figure than he had; his legs were well made, his feet small, his voice pleasant; he was lusty in proportion, and in short, no fault could be found with his person." Although, writes another author, "there were assembled at his court all the most beautiful of women, and the most elegant of men, yet did he surpass them all in the dignity of his person, and the noble expression of his

features." The sound of his voice alone sufficed to engage those hearts whom his presence seemed to awe: more striking exemplification of which could not be found than that afforded in the case of the lovely Louise de la Vallière. In the chains of this fair charmer Louis had long been enslaved, though the witty talented Athalais de Montespan had already commenced that dangerous rivalry which ended in her supplanting her lovely predecessor. "Mademoiselle de la Vallière had been no light mistress, as her after penitence sufficiently proved; but an amiable, gentle, kind, and tender woman, who loved the king for his own sake, and never loved any but him."*

Louis had espoused, when twenty years of age, the infanta Mary Theresa of Spain, daughter of Philip III.; a princess amiable and pious, though of somewhat an insipid disposition. The young king at the time of his marriage was desperately in love with one of the fair Mancini sisters, and it required the utmost importunities of his mother to wring from him an unwilling assent to this match. Nevertheless he became attached to his young wife, and though he never could, and never did feel for her the affection he entertained for his early love, he invariably treated her with every mark of respect. The king was much to be pitied in his connexions, for we have the authority of Madame for asserting that he was not naturally fond of change. La

* Duchess of Orleans.

Vallière, ever repentant of her illicit connexion, drove him from her by her tears, whilst De Montespan alienated him by her pride and haughtiness.* To De Maintenon, whom he espoused, he ever remained faithful; and it speaks something for the constancy of his disposition, that after a lapse of thirty years he retained the same affection for her that he manifested at the commencement of his attachment.

Besides the King and Queen; Madame's husband; and her two step-daughters; the Royal Family comprised within its limits the Dauphin, only son of that monarch, a prince "sans vice ni vertus;" Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the king's cousin, better known from her enormous wealth as La Grande Mademoiselle, the daughter of his uncle Gaston of Orleans, by his first wife, Mary of Bourbon; the two half sisters of this lady, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, and the Duchess of Guise; Louis, Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great, who went by the appellation of Monsieur le Prince; his son Henry Julius, Duke of Bourbon, otherwise Monsieur le Duc, who had married Madame's cousin Anne (daughter of her uncle, Prince Edward Palatine); and the Princes of Conti and Roche sur Yon, junior members of the House of Condé.

The reflection naturally suggests itself—how was the plain ungainly Elizabeth Charlotte re-

* Madame de Montespan treated the king so ill and so unkindly, that he was delighted to get rid of her.—Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

ceived by that brilliant court, which had been so lately fascinated by her elegant predecessor, Henrietta? Strange to say, not unfavourably, for the courtiers were so charmed with her *sang froid* and *esprit* that they condoned her want of personal attractions; while by her ingenuous confession of inferiority to her predecessor, she secured the good will of those who might otherwise have ridiculed her. But what is most surprising of all, the king was not less smitten with her. When we consider the admiration, not to say gallantry which he had evinced for the late duchess, it is incomprehensible to find him regarding the new one as her superior; yet such was actually the case, for we have the authority of his cousin for asserting that "Louis was charmed with the good qualities of the new Madame, that he considered she possessed *esprit*, and that in figure she was superior to the old one."* Madame de Sévigné corroborates this, when she states that "the king evinced an anxiety to divert the new Madame which he never did for the other."† The truth was that Louis, wearied with the insipidity of his courtiers, joyfully welcomed the duchess into his family, for he discerned in her that sound common sense, piquancy and originality, so sadly lacking in the majority of those who surrounded him. Her dry outspoken remarks, plain and to the point, helped to enliven and

* Memoirs of Madmoiselle de Montpensier.

† Letters of Madame de Sévigné.

dissipate his moments of ennui, and for this, if for nothing else, he was grateful. She was moreover almost the only member of the royal family who made a practice of habitually conversing with him. "At table," she writes, "the king was almost obliged to talk to me, for the others said scarcely a word.—In the cabinet after supper, no one but the duchess* and I spoke to him. If he wished to reprove any one, he would always address himself to me, for he knew I never restrained myself in conversation, and that amused him infinitely." It is undeniable that from their first introduction Louis conceived a profound esteem for her, which it is pleasing to find was not unreciprocated on her part, as throughout her Memoirs she invariably speaks of him with respect and affection; indeed to such lengths did she carry her adoration, that many writers attributed it to a tenderer feeling than regard, a charge for which there seems to have been no foundation, as her language, though warm, is never passionate. She appears to have looked up to him as to a father, and to have gloried in viewing him in that light; for if her feelings had partaken of a tenderer nature she would not have paraded them as she did. That the French should have miscomprehended this platonic feeling can excite as little surprise as that they should have misappreciated it. It must be remembered that Madame was a German princess, had been brought

* Madame's cousin, Anne, Duchess of Bourbon.

up in a different school from her adopted country-women, and as such would express herself with more warmth of feeling than possibly the French would care to do, where feelings of platonic admiration only were concerned. It seems to have been solely her language when speaking of the king that gave rise to these reports; what she says is, "If the king had been my father, I could not have loved him better than I did, I was always pleased to be with him;" whilst Louis on his part, in later years, when increasing age and infirmities caused his family to seek convenient pretexts for deserting him, used to say, "Madame is the only one who does not abandon me."*

The favourable impression which Elizabeth Charlotte created was by no means restricted to the king. The interesting Countess de Sévigné, writing to her daughter, the Countess de Grignan, and narrating a visit she paid at the Palais Royal, says, "I was greatly surprised at the wit of the present Madame, not so much for the sprightliness of her humour, as for the good sense. She was rallying the ridiculous conduct of M. de Mecklenburg in being in Paris at such a time as this (France was then at war with Holland), and I assure you, no one could have expressed what she said better than she did. She is very obstinate and determined, and certainly a person of discernment."†

* Duchess of Orleans.

† Letters of Madame de Sévigné.

Although Elizabeth Charlotte captivated the court on her entrée by her *sang froid* and frankness, yet she never became a general favourite, on account of her essentially German ideas; as the preference she evinced for her own countrymen wounded the *amour propre* of the French; always peculiarly susceptible on this point: while her contempt for their frivolities, and her love of more rational amusements, lessened her still further in their estimation.

Wedded to a husband whose ideas were so little in consonance with her own, and from whom she could expect no real companionship, Elizabeth passed her time in writing to her friends, and kindred literary avocations. This legitimate way of improving herself appeared totally inexplicable to the giddy French, as even the Duc de St. Simon, a sworn partizan of the House of Orleans, sarcastically remarks of her, "that she passed her days in her cabinet, the windows of which were at least ten feet from the ground, contemplating the portraits of Palatines and other German princes, with which she had hung it, and in writing whole volumes to them, copies of which she herself made and carefully kept. Nor could her husband," he adds, "induce her to lead a more sensible life." This statement of the duke's, though in a measure correct, bears rather hardly upon the princess, for though letter writing was her favourite occupation, she was equally attached to other literary pursuits. Her collection of books and medals were unique and extensive, and attest the inquisitiveness of her dis-

position. Wherever information was to be gained, there was the duchess to be found. The Czar Peter of Russia, when introduced to her, was overwhelmed by questions of all he had seen, done, or heard, and she suffered not a moment's pause in the conversation during the whole of the time he remained with her. Let us hear how she herself describes her avocations and pursuits. "Although," she says, "I do not play, (which she elsewhere remarks was the prevailing vice of the court), I am never dull, because I can always find something to employ me in my cabinet. I possess a fine series of medals in gold, my aunt has given me an equal number in bronze and silver; I have from two to three hundred carvings in stone, and a collection of engravings, of which I am very fond; besides which, as I love reading, the time never seems long to me."* Another writer describes the duchess as being very affable; "she talked," he says, "a great deal, and well, and loved above all things to converse in her own language, which more than fifty years' residence in France had not made her forget; for this reason she was always delighted to meet with German nobles, and to maintain with them an epistolary correspondence. She was extremely punctual in writing to the Electress of Hanover, and many other personages in Germany. She did nothing but write from morning till night. Immediately after

* Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

rising, which was always about ten, she sat down to her toilette, thence she passed to her cabinet, when, after having spent some time in prayer, she continued writing until the hour of mass. After mass she wrote until dinner, where she did not spend much time; she returned to write, and remained thus engaged till ten in the evening. Towards nine o'clock she would be seen in her cabinet seated at a large table surrounded by papers; near her was placed an ombre table, where the ladies of her household were playing, when occasionally she would look on, and sometimes advise on the game as she continued writing. At other times she would converse with the persons who formed her court. I have seen her go to sleep, and a minute afterwards awake suddenly and fall to writing again."*

It was about two years after her marriage that Madame, to her husband's great joy, presented him with a son. This heir, so anxiously desired, had long been denied to the House of Orleans, for though by his first wife, Henrietta, the duke had had a boy, he lived to be only two years of age. Gaston, of Orleans, his uncle, had vainly sighed for a male heir, though favoured with no less than four daughters. The prince, whose advent had been so fondly anticipated, was destined to frustrate the expectations raised, as he died at three years of age.

* Introduction to Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

*

He had been christened Alexander, and taken the title of Duke of Valois, an unfortunate one, as it now began to be considered, for his family. His loss was, however, compensated during the ensuing year by the birth of a second son, who was named Philip after his father, and lived to rule his country as the Regent Orleans. Finally, in 1676, Madame gave birth to a daughter, who was named Elizabeth Charlotte after her mother. These two children, with her step-daughters, completed her family.

It will be seen that by a rather singular coincidence, the second wife of Philip of Orleans presented him with just the same family as her predecessor had done; and to complete the resemblance, each of the Duchesses lost a child in infancy, whilst two lived to reach years of maturity. The only point of dissimilarity was, that, whereas, Henrietta's living progeny consisted of two daughters, Elizabeth Charlotte's, on the contrary, enumerated a child of each sex.

It would be impossible, without trenching on the limited space we have prescribed ourselves, to enter into a detailed history of the Royal Family of France. The life of Madame's younger step-daughter, the Princess Anne, has been previously recounted; while that of Mary Louisa, the elder, is included in the series of "the Queens of Spain." A detailed history, moreover, would perforce become that of the Court of France, and this has been previously traced by the skilful hand of Miss Pardoe.

Be it our place to note those whose careers prominently bore on the Duchesse d'Orleans, and with whom more particularly she was accustomed to associate.

Elizabeth's greatest friend at the court was the Dauphiness Mary Anne, who was like herself a German, and a native of Bavaria.* This princess, who had espoused the dauphin in the spring of 1680, assimilated more closely to her in disposition than any other member of the royal family. Like Madame, she was fond of rational amusements, and despised the frivolities commonly indulged in by the court. Though she had omitted no opportunity of raising herself to the station she occupied, yet she displayed great independence of character when she had attained it. Fancy the astonishment of the courtiers when they inquired of her, "Would her highness please to play?" at her replying point blank, "No, I do not like games." "Perhaps, then, her highness would choose to hunt?" "By no means, she never took pleasure in that exercise."

* Sometimes styled the "Grand Dauphiness." As neither the son or grandson of Louis ascended the throne of France, the former prince was known as "The Dauphin," and the latter as "The Duke of Burgundy;" but when on the death of the former previously to his son, the latter in turn assumed the title of dauphin, French writers, to prevent the mistakes that would necessarily have been engendered, styled the first dauphin "The Grand Dauphin," and the second (so long known as Duke of Burgundy,) as "The Dauphin." The title of dauphin was first assumed by the heirs presumptive to the French throne on the cession of the province of Viennois by the last of its princes, who ceded it to the King of France in perpetuity, on condition that the eldest son of the monarch should bear the title.

What, it may naturally be asked, did her highness take pleasure in? Well, then, she was fond of conversation, of reading, both in poetry and prose, of music, dancing, needlework, and walking. She would pass four or five hours alone in her apartment without irksomeness, and expressed surprise at the difficulty other people found in amusing themselves. She made herself very popular on her *entrée* by her conformity to French manners, which she adapted herself to with such facility that they seemed as natural to her as if she had been bred in them. Her behaviour to the king was also much commended, as it evinced gratitude without servility. Her personal appearance is described by Madame de Sévigné as being "universally admired, for though," writes that lady, "her face is plain, and there is something about her nose and forehead rather too low in proportion to the rest of her face, and which has a bad effect at first sight, yet her hands and arms are so beautiful, her figure so fine, her neck and teeth so white, her hair so luxuriant, she has so much good sense and good nature, and possesses so many fascinating qualities, that the first glance must be pardoned. In fact," continues the lively countess, "she is a perfect miracle of wit, understanding, and good education: in short, a complete being." *

It is to be regretted that the poor dauphiness had not a better husband; his strange incomprehensible character has been already described. When the

* Letters of Madame de Sévigné.

first novelty of his espousals were over, he treated his intellectual bride with great neglect and inattention; and if Madame's testimony may be relied upon, she was fairly worried to death. She never enjoyed good health after the birth of her first child.* The king, who was of a robust temperament, and fancied every one must be as well as himself, evinced no sympathy for the delicate princess, and she was compelled to exert herself as strenuously as if she had been perfectly well. The fatigue this constant dissimulation engendered was too much for her debilitated frame, and she rapidly sank under its weakening influences: her death, as she sadly remarked, was necessary for her justification. She lived ten years after her marriage, but the last four of it were passed in perfect seclusion, as after the birth of her youngest boy she became a confirmed invalid. She was much attached to one of her maidens, a girl named Bessola, whom she had brought with her from Germany, but the treacherous favourite was unworthy of her mistress's regard, as she made a practice of betraying her secrets to Madame de Maintenon (with whom the dauphiness was not on good terms); and to crown her ingratitude received the wages of that lady for intimidating her. The poor dauphiness could never be convinced that Bessola deceived her; she thought it impossible that any one who had been brought up with her from childhood could be so treacherous; and

* The Duke of Burgundy, born 1682.

when Madame remonstrated with her on the impropriety of being so intimate with such a girl, and the ridicule it excited at court, she would only laugh and say, "Everybody has some weakness: Bessola is mine." Madame describes her friend as "ugly, but agreeable from her extreme politeness." "She was not," she says, "haughty, but as it had become the fashion to blame everything she did, she was somewhat disdainful. She loved the dauphin more like a son than a husband. He loved her very well, but wished to live with her in an unceremonious manner, which she, to please him, agreed to." She was very devout, and on her first introduction at court was considered to eclipse even the pious Mary Theresa; for this, as was to be expected, Madame much ridiculed her.

This opinion of the dauphiness's extreme piety is corroborated by Madame de Maintenon, who says that "she set an example to the court which was much more admired than followed. Sometimes," writes this lady, "she admits me to her pious exercises, and I can with truth assert no heart is more attached to God than hers. She makes it a point of conscience to labour daily for the king's conversion."* On her death-bed the dauphiness embraced her little boy, and said to him, "I love you very much, my dear Berri, though you have cost me so dear," alluding to the continued ill-health

* Letters of Madame de Maintenon.

she had suffered from his birth.* As the court, from her continued complaints, had come to the conclusion she was crazy, she observed just before her death, "I shall convince them to-day that I was not mad in complaining of my sufferings." She died easily and calmly, though "she was as surely put to death," remarks Madame, "as if she had been killed by a pistol shot." She used to remark to Madame that they were two unhappy persons, but that there was this difference between them: "You," she continued, "did all you could to avoid coming here, while I determined to do so at all events; I have therefore deserved my misery."

The Dauphiness was little regretted either by her husband or the court: her continued ill health had destroyed her popularity, and she had begun to be considered as an incumbrance rather than an ornament to it. So perished the only member of the royal family for whom Madame appears to have entertained any real affection.

Although the Duchess of Orleans sedulously held herself aloof from politics, from the conviction that the less women interfered in such matters the better, yet did she innocently originate the war which devastated her loved native country, and caused the name of France to be held in general execration throughout Germany. It happened

* The dauphiness had issue three sons; viz., Louis, Duke of Burgundy, born 1682; Philip, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Philip V., King of Spain, born 1683; and Charles, Duke of Berry, born 1686.

thus :—Her only brother, Charles Louis, the last Prince of the House of Simmeren, dying without issue,* his dominions were claimed by the rival families of Newburgh and Weldentz. After a short contest, the former dynasty, the head of whom was brother-in-law to the emperor, were declared the legitimate claimants, and installed accordingly; but Madame, as the late elector's only sister, claimed under the title of allodials, all his personal possessions, and gradually extended her claim till it included even the cannon and munitions of war throughout the fortresses.† These demands, which excited great consternation in Germany, being vigorously opposed by the new elector, who appealed to his fellow-princes for assistance, Louis threatened to enforce his sister's claims by force of arms; and the elector exhibiting no signs of compliance, he at once poured his troops into the Palatinate. This unfortunate district, which had only some thirty years previously recovered its pristine prosperity, was destined to suffer anew, and that to a frightful extent, all the miseries and horrors of war. Louvois, who was then Louis's prime minister, advised as the surest means for its reduction that the country should be laid waste and the towns burnt, which barbarous decree was carried into execution with great severity. Even Heidelberg, the Duchess's

* He died June, 1685. Madame firmly believed that he was poisoned, but succeeding historians have not justified this imputation.

† Coxe's House of Austria.

birth-place, was not spared. It must not be supposed that these atrocities took place with her connivance; on the contrary, she bitterly lamented them. "When," she says, "I think of conflagrations, I am seized with a shivering fit, for I remember how the Palatinate was ravaged for more than three months. Whenever I went to sleep I used to think I saw Heidelberg all in flames, and I very narrowly escaped an illness in consequence of these outrages." Notwithstanding all these horrors, however, Madame failed to obtain her property, and her pretensions remained unadjusted till the Peace of Ryswick, signed sixteen years afterwards, when Louis was tacitly compelled to forego her claim. It was, indeed, nominally submitted to the Pope's decision, but not until it had been previously ascertained that he would give judgment in favour of the Elector Palatine. All she ever received as compensation was the sum of three hundred crowns, a sorry substitute for such a claim. She complained bitterly of the injustice done her, nor if we may credit her testimony, was the Pope less repentant of his decision; for when informed that the Grand Duke of Tuscany had bribed his advisers with five hundred crowns to induce them to give judgment against the Duchess, he wept and said, "Am I not an unhappy old man to be obliged to place confidence in such persons?"*

Madame, though she brought her husband a

* Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

good dowry, which she believed, and not untruly, to have been her chief recommendation, was always inconvenienced by her limited income. Her allowance, from the date of her marriage till that of her mother's death, only amounted to a hundred louis d'or per annum. On that event Monsieur, in consequence of money he received from the palatinate, gave her an extra hundred. To the time of her son's marriage, that is, for the first twenty years of her wedded life, the king presented her annually with a thousand louis; but this sum she forfeited by her opposition to that event. Her predecessor, Henrietta, had been more liberally treated; but this was because she was the sister of the king of England, with whom, despite all assertions to the contrary, Louis earnestly desired to be at amity.

Just previously to the outbreak of the palatinate war, the royal family of France had suffered an irreparable loss in the death of the amiable and virtuous queen. The patience with which she had submitted to the numerous infidelities of her husband had won for her the respect of the nation, and she was sincerely and unfeignedly lamented. Madame, in particular, had always sympathised with, and endeavoured to uphold this princess in the exercise of her legitimate influence. She was one of the most ignorant, but kindest and most virtuous of women; and though she failed to engross her husband's affections, she invariably commanded his esteem. In person she was of low stature, with

a tendency to *embonpoint;* but these defects, if so they may be termed, were compensated by the exquisite fairness of her skin, and the lustre of her beautiful azure eyes, which, though slightly deficient in animation, wore a peculiarly tranquil expression. "She had been bred in the strictest forms of Spanish etiquette, and invariably adhered to the manners and customs of her country. She was devotedly attached to the king, and if he only looked at her kindly, was observed to be in good spirits for the rest of the day, and displayed so much satisfaction when he quitted his mistress's society for her own that it was generally remarked upon by the court. She minded not being joked on the subject, but would on such occasions laugh, and wink, and rub her little hands.* She died of an abscess under the arm, which being unskilfully treated by her physicians, caused her death. Her husband, when informed that his patient, forgiving consort "had gone to that bourne from whence no traveller returns," burst into tears, and passionately exclaimed, "It is the first grief she has ever caused me!" Ah, how many pangs might he have saved that confiding heart, had he been equally tender of her when living!

Mary Theresa's funeral oration was pronounced by Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, who, in it, most infelicitously complimented the king on the government he had maintained over his passions, when it was

* Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

notorious, not only to himself but to his auditors, that Louis was at the very time living in open adultery with Madame de Montespan! So much for the vaunted boldness of the Romish prelates in preaching the truth even before kings!

Hitherto Madame had lived on harmonious terms with the royal family, although refraining from any peculiar intimacy; but the death of Mary Theresa, by opening the avenues of power to Madame de Maintenon,* proved an irrevocable blow to her family interests. The dislike and open hatred which she manifested for this new wife of the king (for that Madame de Maintenon was actually

* The life of Madame de Maintenon is a perfect romance. She was the daughter of M. Constant d'Aubigne, Baron of Surinau (whose ancestors ranked among the foremost champions of Protestantism), by a Bourdelais lady. As was to be expected, they were both Calvinists; an imputed crime, to which they owed their imprisonment, on a charge of heresy, in the prison of Niort, in Poitou. Here the little Frances, the subject of this notice, was born, 27th November, 1635. On her parents' liberation, which did not occur until four years afterwards, they sailed for America, where M. d'Aubigne died in 1646, leaving his wife with two children in indigent circumstances. So reduced indeed was the poor widow, that the only means by which she could return to Europe was by leaving her daughter as a pledge in the hands of her creditors. There Frances remained until she had attained her twelfth year, when she recrossed the seas for the old continent, and her mother dying about this time, she was adopted by her aunt, Madame de Villete, who educated her as a Protestant. This excited the anger of the State, always anxious to interfere with the Calvinists, and an order was obtained from the Court, transferring her to the charge of another aunt, Madame de Neuillant, a bigoted Romanist. Here, after undergoing many hardships, Frances was induced to make an open profession of the Catholic faith. The ill treatment she received from this relative earned for her the compassion, soon generating into a tenderer feeling, of M. Scarron, a man of letters, descending from an ancient family, who visited at her aunt's. In the following homely

wedded to Louis admits of not the shadow of a doubt) involved her in continual fracas with the monarch,

strain was this future consort of a king, under the appellation of Iris, courted by her aged adorer:

"Whilst I was with you every day,
My dove, my blooming fair,
I view'd your charms, I heard your wit,
Regardless of the snare.

But from your sight when once debarr'd,
What tortures I endured!
Too fierce, too violent, alas!
By reason to be cured.

Parting, which ought to give relief,
But added to my pains,
For in your chains still faster link'd,
I struggled still in vain.

Obdurate Iris! cruel fair!
To kindle such a flame,
To make me burn, consume and long
For what I durst not name.

Should I my passion once reveal,
Your anger 'twould procure,
And should I keep my secret close,
My dissolution's sure.
Luckless dilemma! death or your disdain,
With patience die, rather than live in pain."

He concludes, "Love me, and I shall be cured of all my ills:" an aspiration to which Frances returned a favourable answer notwithstanding his age, weakness, and many infirmities. They were married in 1651, Mademoiselle d'Aubigné being then only in her sixteenth year. Henceforth the home of Monsieur Scarron became the rendezvous of the literati of Paris; some attracted by the burlesque humour of the master, others by the *spirituelle* fascinating hostess. In 1660, by the death of her husband, Frances became a widow; an event which was productive of much inconvenience to her, as she thereby lost the pension she had been in the habit of receiving, and which expired on the death of Monsieur Scarron. Fortunately, through the influence of the Marchioness d'Albret, it was restored to her, although, to complete her misfortunes, she forfeited it again on the death of the Queen Dowager, shortly afterwards. These repeated afflictions were the means of leading her to God, and she adopted

and embittered the remainder of her existence. She confesses that in her opinion all the glory

a life of religious seclusion, taking the Abbé Gobelin as her spiritual director. Whilst in this state of penury and discomfort she received the unexpected offer, through Madame de Thiange (Madame de Montespan's sister), to undertake the education of that lady's children by the king. Undecided as to whether to accept it, she thus, in a letter to a friend, describes her hesitation: "I am," she says, "sensibly affected with the honour intended me, but I own that I think myself absolutely unfit for it. I live quietly, and is it proper for me to sacrifice both my repose and my liberty? Besides, that mysterious behaviour, that profound secrecy which they require of me, without positively giving me the key of it, may induce my friends to think a snare is laid for me. However, if the children belong to the king, I consent to it (evidently intimating she considered herself bound to obey her sovereign's commands). I should have great scruples in taking charge of Madame de Montespan's children; therefore the king himself must order me to do it. This is my resolution, and I have written pretty much to the same effect to Madame de Thiange." Madame de Maintenon's detractors have adduced her acceptance of this post as derogatory to her principles and her character; but it will be seen that it was only in compliance with the expressed order of her sovereign, whose commands she felt herself bound to obey, that she undertook the task. Neither did she conceal her opinion from Madame de Montespan, for she wrote pretty much to the same effect to Madame de Thiange, that lady's sister; so that her alleged ingratitude is easily disproved. That she did not live very harmoniously with Madame de Montespan, is true; but it was caused by the haughty overbearing disposition of the favourite, who could ill brook the slightest opposition to her will. Over and over again did Madame de Maintenon express her wish to retire from her onerous duties, which she was as often prevented from doing by Madame de Montespan and the king. No *arrière pensée* could have then lurked in her mind, as the Queen was still alive. That Madame de Maintenon achieved the king's conversion there is no reason to doubt. His dying words, uttered under the conviction that he was about appearing before his Judge, are proof positive. "My nephew," he said, turning to the Duke of Orleans, "I recommend Madame de Maintenon to your care; she has been useful to me in all respects, but chiefly in turning me to God, and labouring for my salvation. She never gave me any but good counsels, and I repent my having not always followed them." Such was the woman whom some historians have so delighted in vilifying and misrepresenting!

of France expired with the deceased queen; but the Duchess is here a prejudiced witness; and there are grave, nay, conclusive reasons displacive of her evidence. Allowing that Madame de Maintenon by a misguided course of policy entailed great evils upon France, yet she certainly purified the court of many of its prevailing corruptions. The open concubinage of the monarch with a succession of mistresses, and the laxity of morals it necessarily engendered, was now no longer to be witnessed. All faces bore at least the outward semblance of propriety and decorum. It was one of Madame de Maintenon's maxims, that *une grande passion* only was sinful; therefore a little dalliance and innocent coquetry was not absolutely interdicted. Still it was something for the court to maintain even an outwardly moral appearance; and that it did wear a decidedly improved aspect is admitted by all writers not so blindly prejudiced as Madame. The hatred of this princess for Madame de Maintenon amounted to an absolute frenzy, and partook more of the character of a monomania than a prejudice. No epithet was too bad for the traduced wife of Louis in the mouth of the proud German princess. She hated her for reasons *ad infinitum*. She disliked her for her marriage with the king, which she considered as alike degrading and dishonourable, and a blot impossible to be effaced. She detested her for patronising the king's illegitimate children, to the prejudice of the Princes of the

Blood,* and, lastly, she hated her with an undying hatred, because she, a parvenu upstart, favoured the alliance of Mademoiselle de Blois, Louis's natural daughter by Madame de Montespan, with her, the proud Madame's only son, the veritable Philip the second of Orleans, future regent of France. This last offence alone was one impossible to be forgiven; but Madame de Maintenon aggravated her offences, if such indeed were possible, by the suggestion of a second marriage between her *protegé*, the Duc de Maine (Louis's eldest son by Madame de Montespan), whom she had reared with the affection of a mother, and Madame's only daughter, Elizabeth Charlotte; thus by one fell stroke endeavouring to cement the disgrace of the Orleans family. Had these two propositions been simulta-

* The bastards, or legitimated children of Louis XIV. were, by the Duchess de La Vallière, Louis, Count of Vermandois, a prince never liked by his father, born 1667, and died 1683, at the age of sixteen; and Mary Anne, Mademoiselle de Blois, born 1666. This princess, who was the king's favourite daughter, was one of the most beautiful and amiable on record, as she inherited all the attractions of her fascinating mother, La Vallière. She married 1680, Louis Armand, Prince of Conti, who died 1685. She survived him fifty-four years, dying 1739. She never married again, but devoted herself, like her mother, to works of charity and devotion, becoming in her later years quite a recluse. The Emperor of Morocco fell in love with her from seeing her portrait, and actually sent to demand her as his wife, although she was married; a novel request, which excited great merriment at the French Court.—See Memoirs de Dangeau. The King's children by Madame de Montespan were, Louis Augustus, Duke of Maine, born 1670, died 1736; a great favourite of his father's and Madame de Maintenon's. Louis Alexander, Count of Toulouse, born 1678, died 1737; Louisa, Mademoiselle de Nantes, born 1673, died 1743, the wife of Louis III., Prince of Condé; and Frances, Mademoiselle de Blois, born 1677, the wife of the Regent Duke of Orleans—she died 1749.

neously made to Madame, we would not vouch for the reception she would have accorded the luckless messenger; but, fortunately, such an affront was not destined her, for Mesdames de Montespan and De Maintenon having conversed unguardedly together on the subject in public, were frightened by the hint of a bystander, that to attempt such a thing was to tempt Madame to effect their own removal; which wily suggestion so scared them that they summarily abandoned the idea. One part of it, however, was only dropped, the original intention of contracting Mademoiselle de Blois to the Duke of Chartres still remaining in force.

The rage and indignation of Madame, when she first gained intelligence of even this modified intrigue, can be better imagined than described. Judge, then, what effect the double proposals would have had upon her. Summoning her son to her presence, she exacted from him a solemn promise that he would not submit to such voluntary degradation, fortifying his promise by an oath. The youthful prince (he was but seventeen) was sincere; but on being confronted with the king and his father, whom he was accustomed to see implicitly obeyed, and threatened with imprisonment at Villars-Cotterets, in case of refusal, he yielded his assent, dependent, he said, upon his father's and mother's. The former, who was present at the interview, previously won by the wiles of the Chevalier de Lorraine, who had been brought

over by the king, nodded his assent: but not so easily to be obtained was that of his proud and haughty wife. "If," she indignantly protests, "by the shedding of my blood I could have prevented my son's marriage, I would have done so." Even to the humiliation of prayers, tears, and entreaties, did she descend in vain. The fiat *Le roi le veut* had gone forth, and resistance was unavailing. From the Memoirs of the Duc de St. Simon we learn that it was feared some public explosion of her rage would take place on the public announcement of the intended marriage. He says, "I saw her on the evening of that day promenading the galleries of the palace with Madame de Chauteauthiers, her confidante, and deservedly so, whom it had in vain been endeavoured to deprive her of. She was walking rapidly, taking long strides, her handkerchief in her hand, weeping without restraint, gesticulating violently, and looking for all the world like Ceres when, deprived of her daughter Proserpine, she sought her furiously, and demanded her from Jupiter. Every one out of respect made way for her, and only passed her to enter the saloon. At the supper-table her conduct was even more outrageous. The king was there as usual; the Duke of Chartres sat next his mother, who never looked at him nor at her husband. Her eyes were full of tears which overflowed from time to time, as she vainly essayed to wipe them away; she looked earnestly at everybody, as if seeking to divine their thoughts from their coun-

tenances. Her son's eyes were also very red, and neither of them ate scarcely anything. I noticed that the king offered her of almost every dish which was set before him; but she repulsed him with a brusque air of disdain, which had not the effect of repressing his kindness and attention to her. It was remarked that, on leaving the table, his Majesty made her a very low bow, during which she wheeled round so nicely upon her heel, that when he raised his head, he saw nothing but her back advanced a step towards the door.

The next day a still more remarkable scene was enacted. On the usual *levée* of the council being held after mass, Madame, who was present, was addressed by her son, who coming up, as was his custom, to kiss her hand, received such a slap on the face, that it was heard by the whole court, and the poor prince retired covered with confusion, amid the laughter and jeers of the spectators. Notwithstanding all these ebullitions of rage, Madame was eventually forced to succumb, as matters had now advanced too far to admit of the king's receding with dignity; so that, *malgré* his own and his parents' wishes, the Duke of Chartres was forced to wed Mademoiselle de Blois. Their nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at the Chapel Royal, Easter Monday, 1692, by Cardinal de Bouillon; the king and all the princes and princesses assisting at the ceremony.

The union proved, as was to be expected, a most

unhappy one. The bridegroom was celebrated for his dissolute manners, and had, even at seventeen, all the precocity in vice of a man of sixty. His morals had been contaminated by his preceptor, the Abbe Dubois, who, instead of restraining, encouraged his youthful extravagances, which have rendered him so notorious, that the phrase, "the orgies of the regency," is as familiar as household words. His open disregard of the mysteries of religion shocked the prejudices even of the irreligious French, and he was suspected of the most atrocious and unheard-of crimes. Louis's excuse for the union of his daughter with the Duc de Chartres was, that, on account of his belligerent relations with foreign powers, he could neither match her nor his nephew as he wished, and that, consequently, the only resource which remained to him was intermarriages between members of his own family. But this was a flimsy pretext; for it might satisfactorily be objected that the Duke of Chartres evinced no inclination for the married state, and that, even had he been at peace with other powers, no foreign princes would have espoused his *natural* daughters.

In person the Duke of Chartres was plain, and of unprepossessing appearance, being short, stout, and ruddy. His manners corresponded with his exterior; they were unpolished and ungallant, and savoured strongly of those of his mother and maternal grandfather. His redeeming qualifica-

tions were his straightforwardness and candour; he was totally incapable of *finesse*, and was good-hearted, sincere, and generous. He was devotedly attached to the arts and sciences, particularly chemistry, of which he was a great proficient.* His wife was of a totally different temperament. She was proud, lazy, and conceited, and thought so much of being a king's daughter, that she forgot she bore the same relationship to a harlot. This amused the wits of the court, who, making merry at her expense, compared her to Minerva, who boasted of having sprung from Jupiter without the intervention of a mother. She, however, possessed some good qualities, was of a graceful form, lively wit, and irreproachable virtue, though her mother-in-law, who never did her justice, had by no means so complimentary an opinion of her. She says, "Madame d'Orleans' physiognomy does not please me; her nose and cheeks are somewhat pendant, and her forehead shakes like an old woman's; she paints beyond all measure, so that she is often quite red. She has always a fictitious malady in reserve, and I believe all her weaknesses arise from her always laying in bed or on a sofa. She eats and drinks reclining, through mere idleness. She never could bring herself to eat with the king her father, for then it would be necessary for her to sit upon a stool; and she likes better to loll upon a sofa or sit

* Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans. Mémoires du Due de Saint Simon. Mémoires Secrets de Duclos.

in an arm-chair at a small table. She is so indolent, that she will not stir; she would like, I believe, larks to drop ready roasted into her mouth; she walks and eats slowly, the latter enormously. It is impossible to be more idle than she is; this she herself admits, though she takes no pains to correct it. She does not think that there is her equal in the world for beauty, wit, and perfection. I always compare her to Narcissus, who died of self-admiration. She piques herself on being considered extremely pious; but does not consider that lying and deceit are the works of the devil, and not of God. Ambition, pride, and selfishness have entirely spoilt her, and I fear she will make no good end. My son, in allusion to her pride, calls her Madame Lucifer," a title which, the Duke of St. Simon observes, it was believed did not displease her. "She is so excessively vain of her birth," continues Madame, "that she will not hear a word said against it; she will not see the difference between legitimate and illegitimate children. These notions were instilled into her by Mesdames de Montespan and De Maintenon, and the *femmes des chambres*."*

This portraiture of the Duchess of Chartres by her mother-in-law sufficiently proves that she was not considered much of an acquisition by her adopted family. That mother and daughter lived only on bare terms of civility with each other is not surprising; for with two women, each ridiculously

* Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

proud in her way, what better could be expected? That Madame's opinion of her daughter-in-law conveys an unfair estimate both of her personal attractions and mental capabilities, is proved by the observations of the Duke of St. Simon, certainly no prejudiced admirer of the house of Mortemart. This nobleman says, "The Duchess was tall, and in every way majestic; her complexion, throat, arms, and eyes were admirable; her mouth, which was not faultless, served to display a beautiful set of teeth; whilst her cheeks, though too large and pendant, sufficed not to impair her personal beauty. The greatest drawback to her appearance were her eyebrows, which were thin and reddish. Her eyelashes, however, were fine; and her hair, which was of an auburn hue, grew very becomingly. Without being precisely crooked or hunchbacked, one side was larger than the other; and this defect, which impeded her gait, caused her much inconvenience in society. She had not less humour than her husband; but more than him, she had such an uninterrupted flow of spirits, so much natural eloquence, justness of expression, and singular felicity in the choice of language she employed, which seemed to flow naturally from her, that she invariably took you by surprise; resembling strongly in this respect Madame de Montespan and her sister. She said all she wished to say precisely as she would have said it, with force, delicacy, and *agrément*, continuing this easy style

until she finished, and making every one listen to her, according to the measure and precision she employed; but her manner of speaking, from her voice being husky, was so slow, so impeded, so difficult to ears not accustomed to it, that this defect, which surprised you from not expecting it, greatly detracted from what she said." *

The marriage of Madame's only daughter, Elizabeth Charlotte, with Leopold, Duke of Lorraine, which took place five years after her son's, was a much pleasanter event to her than his had been; for although the alliance contracted was hardly equal to those which her step-daughters had formed, it was compensated by the bridegroom's being, in her estimation, almost a German prince.

Elizabeth Charlotte was in person plain and unprepossessing, and decidedly deficient in those graces which sat so easily on her half sisters; but she was virtuous and good, which, as her mother sagely remarks, is better than being "pretty and profligate." She was much attached to her husband, though he little merited her regard, as he devoted himself almost wholly to one of her *filles d'honneur*, Mademoiselle de Ligneville, and ultimately married the young lady to Monsieur Craon, a rich old man attached to his court. From thenceforth, strange to say, he appeared as much infatuated with the husband as the wife; ridiculous behaviour, which justly mortified Elizabeth Char-

* St. Simon.

lotte, who saw herself neglected for one wholly inferior to her in position. Madame Craon, nevertheless, was not a woman unworthy the Duke's regard; she was, even according to the testimony of Madame, "full of agreeable qualities, and although not a regular beauty, had a good shape, a fine skin, and a very white complexion. Her greatest charms were her mouth and her teeth." "When she laughs," says the duchess, "it is in a very pleasing and modest manner; she behaves respectfully in my daughter's presence; and, in truth, it is not surprising she should be loved, for she richly deserves it." Poor Madame Craon was much mortified if she was taken for the duke's mistress: it happened that once, when on a visit to Paris with her *cher ami*, she was crossing the hall of the palace, when a bystander observed, "There goes the Duke of Lorraine with his mistress;" a speech which so affected her, that she burst into tears, and insisted on the duke's complaining to the regent of the insult offered her. This he did,—when that profligate prince, instead of commiserating her, only burst out laughing, and gaily responded, "Why the king himself could not have prevented it. You should despise such inuendos, and pretend not to hear them."*

We have been somewhat anticipating events in relation to the ducal family of Orleans. In February, 1689, Madame had sustained a grievous loss in the death of her step-daughter, the Queen of

* Duchess of Orleans.

Spain, who fell a victim to poison, administered at precisely the same age as had proved fatal to her unfortunate mother. There can be little doubt that the Countess of Soissons, by whom the fatal draught was given, was bribed by the Spanish party adverse to French interests: in fact, the Count of Oropeza and the Count of Mansfeld disdained to justify themselves from the imputation.* It appears that Mary Louisa having expressed a wish for some milk, then a luxury in Madrid, the Countess of Soissons officiously volunteered to fetch some, which she pretended to have in her apartments. It was in vain that Mary Louisa had been warned against this woman; her intense love for her countrymen had surmounted even her repugnance to the Countess's character. The sequel we have narrated, the poor queen expiring the same night. When the sad intelligence was communicated by the king to her father and mother, the latter was so overwhelmed that she gave vent to her grief in loud cries, and even the usually impassable Philip seemed affected by the tragic fate of his beauteous daughter;† for the Duke of Orleans, with all his failings, was fond of his children, and Mary Louisa, in particular, had been the object of his special regard: a statement for which we have the authority of his wife, who says, "My husband, with all his faults, was passionately

* According to Duclos, only the Count of Mansfeld was suspected of the crime. Mémoires Secrets de Charles Dineau Duclos.

† De Dangeau.

fond of his children, particularly of his eldest daughter; but he loved them with the foolish fondness of a parent who feared to maintain a due authority over them. If he wished to reprove them for anything, he would come with his tale to me, and beg me take them to task. 'But, Monsieur,' I would reply, 'they are your children as well as mine, why do you not correct them?' 'Oh,' he would say, 'I know not how to scold them; and besides, they would not mind me if I did, they care for no one but you.' He used," continues Madame, "always to threaten the children with me, and keep them in constant fear of me, for the truth was, he was afraid of their loving me better than himself, and it was for this reason he told them that I disapproved of all they did, but I never pretended to see through his contrivance."*

Bereft by death or removal of his children, to whom in his way he had been fondly attached, the heart of the Duke of Orleans now began to yearn with increasing affection towards his long tried partner, whom hitherto he had treated with such indifference. He daily sought her society more and more, and laboured to conform himself to her habits, evincing as much pleasure in her company as formerly he had displayed aversion. He made her the confidante of all his grievances, and warmly espoused her part in any disputes. Unfortunately this blissful state of things was not

* Duchess of Orleans.

destined to be of long continuance. On the evening of the eighth of June, 1701, the Duke, whilst sitting down to supper at Saint Cloud, was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and notwithstanding the remedies that were instantly applied, he expired the following morning. The proximate cause of his attack was the *vexatio quæstio* of his son's marriage. Louis, unable any longer to shut his eyes to his nephew's open infidelities, and vexed that his daughter's happiness should have been so sacrificed, expostulated with his brother for not taking his son to task for his irregularities. Monsieur retorted that, "Fathers who led the same lives themselves, could not expect to possess much authority over their children." On this, Louis was silent, when Monsieur, following up his advantage, taunted his brother for not having fulfilled the promises which had induced him to consent to the marriage. A long altercation ensued, which was only terminated by dinner being announced. At this meal Monsieur appeared flushed and feverish, although he ate well, and afterwards returned to supper at St. Cloud. During this repast he was observed to speak thick, and make strange gestures with his hands, and almost immediately afterwards he fell senseless into the arms of his son in a fit of apoplexy. He was placed upon a sofa and bled, but without effect; the medicines administered afforded him no relief, and before twelve the next morning he was a corpse: his illness having only

lasted fourteen hours.* The king had arrived at three in the morning to visit his brother, but Monsieur was unconscious when he was announced. The Duchess remained with him until five, when finding him insensible to her presence, she left him and retired to her own room.

The king felt his brother's loss very severely—he had always loved him, though they were of such different temperaments; it was this very contrariety which made them such friends, for Louis was amused with his brother's chattering and fastidious ways: he knew that he was not really ambitious, and that he was devoid of political capacity; he could, therefore, love without fearing him. The only differences they ever had arose either from the king's opposition to his brother's favourites, or from his refusing him the separate government of provinces, which no entreaties could induce him to yield his assent to: he believed, and justly so, that it was a practice most detrimental to the national welfare; and he had too much regard for the interests of his kingdom to permit of such an anomaly.

Poor Madame, though she sincerely lamented her husband's death, yet suffered not her grief at this event to render her oblivious of her future interests: she was horrified at the idea of entering a convent, or retiring to the castle of Montargis, the only

* Dangeau's Memoirs of the Court of France. Taylor's Memoirs of the House of Orleans.

alternatives presented by her marriage settlement; and when the king sent to inquire which course she would pursue, she adroitly declared her resolution to remain near his majesty, from whom she found it impossible to exist with comfort. The king was flattered with the compliment, and gave her leave to follow her inclinations, merely stipulating that she should live on better terms with Madame de Maintenon, to whom, ordinarily speaking, she was barely civil. This she agreed to do, and the public reconciliation of the two enemies took place on the eleventh of June.* Madame's account of it is amusing enough. She says, "The king told me that I hated Madame de Maintenon, to which I replied that I did, but that it was only on account of my attachment to his majesty, and because she wronged me to him; but that, nevertheless, if it was agreeable to him I would be reconciled to her. He then made Madame de Maintenon come forward, and said to her, 'Madame is willing to make friends with you;' we then embraced, and the scene ended." "It mattered not to me," explains the duchess, "whether I lived at Montargis or not; but I would not have the appearance of doing so because I was disgraced, or as if I had committed some crime for which I was driven from the Court. I feared, moreover, that at the end of two days' journey, I might be left to die of hunger, and to avoid that risk, I chose rather to be reconciled to the king:

* Dangeau.

as for going into a convent I never dreamed of such a thing."*

The year 1701 proved an eventful one to the Duchess of Orleans. Just previously to her husband's death the Act of Succession had been passed in England, which debarred her of her contingent reversion of the British crown. It is strange that, throughout her published correspondence, she makes no mention of this event, so pregnant with important consequences to her family; although had the suggestion of her aunt Sophia been adopted, Parliament would certainly have made her a formal proffer of the crown, dependent upon her renunciation of the Romanist faith. This advice it is notorious was not followed, and those members of the royal family who from choice had become Romanists, were as effectually precluded as those who had been bred up in that faith; nor was the opportunity afforded them of returning into that church, which, as from motives of self-interest they had abandoned, the same reasons might have again induced them to embrace.

What would have been the result had the crown been tendered the matter of fact Duchess of Orleans, must always remain matter for conjecture. That she would not have objected to renouncing the Romish faith is obvious, for she had never sincerely embraced it; though that she would not have accepted the crown to the detriment of the

* Duchess of Orléans.

legitimate heir, or of her aunt, the Parliamentary heiress, is almost equally certain, as a passage in her writings seems corroborative of this opinion. She says, "I wish the King, James III., was in possession of England, because the kingdom belongs to him, whilst I would rather the Elector (George I.) was Emperor of Germany, knowing well the desire he had to be king of that country."* Not a word, it will be perceived, of her own claims. In truth, on James III. and George I., the representatives of a principle and a faith, public opinion was so concentred, that the pretensions of the other members of the Royal Family remained in abeyance, scarcely remembered even by themselves. And yet it is matter of interesting conjecture, "What would have been Great Britain's destiny under Elizabeth II.?" for as such the Duchess of Orleans would have reigned, had she been called to ascend the throne of her forefathers. It is strange that this princess, the representative of the once idolized Queen of Bohemia, and the daughter of the ultra-Protestant Charles Louis, who so signalized himself by his adhesion to the Parliamentary cause, should have been so quietly abandoned by the party of the Revolution, though no doubt can exist that had the Elector himself been living, a very different course of policy would have been pursued. With his daughter, however, other considerations prevailed; for in the first place she had abandoned her father's

* Duchess of Orleans.

faith, in itself an insuperable obstacle; and secondly, she had become a member of the Royal Family of France, and was the sister of that Louis whom the insane fury of the times denominated as the disturber of the peace of Europe; and whom the English, or to speak more correctly the Anglo-Dutch party in particular, regarded as their natural and inveterate enemy. Moreover, the Duchess's only son stood in close proximity to the French throne, and should he, by a not improbable contingency, be called on to ascend it, Great Britain would have reckoned as its monarch the detested sovereign of France. Strange that any prince who stood a chance of being not only *de jure* but *de facto* "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland," should be so abominated. All these considerations, weighing with the politicians of the day, rendered them averse to the Duchess's claim; nor were they wrong in their decision, for when the unpopularity of our Dutch and German monarchs is considered, how much worse would not a French one have fared?

The tranquillity of the widowed Duchess of Orleans was not destined to be interrupted until ten years after her husband's death, when changes fraught with eventful consequences surprised the Orleans dynasty. The year 1711 was ushered in by the death of Louis's son, the Grand Dauphin, who expired from an attack of small-pox; leaving his place in the succession to be filled by the Duke of Bur-

gundy, now become Dauphin. This prince had espoused Madame's grand-daughter, the beauteous Adelaide of Sardinia;* at once the most seductive, the most interesting, and the most talented of the Dauphines; and alike the idol of her husband, Madame de Maintenon, the king, courtiers, and the nation. In February, 1712, Adelaide was attacked with an epidemic then prevalent at Paris, which, though at first considered of a trivial nature, quickly proved fatal to the delicate princess. Her husband, who was suffering from the same disease, when informed of the loss he had sustained, at once declared he should not survive, an astrologer having predicted that he would die within a week of his wife. This prediction was unhappily fulfilled; the Dauphin and Dauphiness dying within six days of each other.

Hardly had the public recovered from the shock occasioned by these sudden catastrophes, when the eldest son of the hapless pair, in his turn become dauphin, died also, leaving betwixt the Orleans family and the throne only the Duc d'Anjou, a sickly infant of two years of age, and who was the fourth dauphin who had succeeded to the title within a twelvemonth.† These events, so apparently fortuitous for the Duc d'Orleans, yet concealed behind them greater calamities than

* Daughter of Madame's stepdaughter, Anne, Queen of Sardinia.

† The Duke of Berry was at the time alive; but he died shortly afterwards, May, 1714.

advantages, as the imprecations and murmurs of the populace at the losses they had sustained were all vented upon his luckless head, who, because he was the gainer by the late events, was unjustly suspected of being the author of them.* On one point only were all agreed, viz. that the Grand Dauphin had died a natural death. That of the second, on the contrary, was viewed with infinitely more suspicion, and by the lower orders, in particular, he was almost universally believed to have been poisoned. These reports, which if they had been uncorroborated by material evidence would have been quickly consigned to the tomb of the Capulets, received confirmation from the unguarded statements of Fagon and Bourdin, the court physicians: these gentlemen, either believing the prince's death was not attributable to ordinary causes; or swayed by the *vox populi* who were universally of that opinion; or wishing to please Madame de Maintenon, by casting obloquy on the Orleans family, declared in the report which they presented to the king that the dauphin had been poisoned.† In vain did Marechal, the premier

* The friends of the Orleans family, who, however, were very few in number, endeavoured to divert suspicion from him by casting obloquy on the Duc du Maine, and attributing to him greater advantages from the death of these princes than could possibly be derived by the Duc d'Orleans. As the Duc du Maine was all-powerful with his father and Madame de Maintenon, it may be imagined these reports were circulated strictly *sub rosa*.—See Memoires du Duc de St. Simon.

† That humpbacked old Fagon used to say that he disliked Christianity because it would not allow him to build a temple to Maintenon, and an altar to worship her.—Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

surgeon, combat their statements: nothing could divest the populace of the idea that their favourite had been unfairly dealt with; and the Duke of Orleans, as the suspected party, was exposed to imminent danger from these surmises. He could neither venture out in public nor indulge in the most innocent recreations without furnishing fresh evidences of his guilt to the distorted imaginations of the multitude. At Paris, in particular, he was assailed with the most odious cries and imprecations. It must be confessed that his manner of life was not the best calculated to dispel suspicion. By openly mocking the verities of the Catholic faith, and making game of all generally held sacred by Christians, he shocked the prejudices of even the worldly-minded, and seemed to court rather than evade their accusations. His ardent devotion, moreover, to chemistry, alchymy, and other pursuits, then considered as dabblings in the black art, swelled considerably the number of his enemies. Despairing of justifying himself, shunned and evaded by the courtiers, the duke took the bold resolution of challenging a public inquiry into his conduct. Presenting himself suddenly before the king, he demanded of him, as a personal favour, that his character should be submitted to a public ordeal. Louis, taken by surprise, really loving his nephew,* and knowing him to be innocent of the

* "The king loved my son as if he was his own, but he never cared for the girls."—Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

crimes imputed to him, hesitated as to yielding his request; but Marechal, whom he informed of his nephew's offer, strongly dissuaded him from acceding to it: he pointed out the light in which it would be regarded by the public, who would view it as a corroboration of their suspicions: that even the duke's necessary acquittal would not justify him in their eyes, for how could the nephew of a king be convicted as a murderer, even if guilty? By these and similar arguments Marechal so influenced the mind of Louis that he positively refused to assent to the duke's request: the object of the latter was, however, gained; he had challenged his accusers, and they had shrunk from denouncing him. Henceforth he rose visibly in the estimation of the courtiers, although the popular prejudice against him did not wholly subside until his advent to power.*

It must not be supposed that these calumnies against a son whom she so dearly loved were unfelt by the widowed Duchess of Orleans; on the contrary, she acutely suffered from the indignities heaped upon her family, which she attributed, though unjustly, to the machinations of her ancient foe, Madame de Maintenon. Whether this lady really credited the reports circulated, is doubtful; but that she promulgated them and prejudiced the king's mind against his nephew, is an accusation wholly unfounded; as the uniform tenor of her life, and the

* Memoires Secrets de Duclos. Memoires du Duc de St. Simon.

high terms in which she speaks of the duke throughout her correspondence, alike discountenance the vile suspicion. Of one thing we are assured, that by no possibility could her hatred of the Orleans Family equal that which the duchess entertained for her! The following account of a scene which passed between Madame's son and Madame de Maintenon, when the star of the latter paled its ineffectual fires before that of the calumniated Duke of Orleans, receives its best confutation from the letter immediately succeeding it—for if Madame's relation be correct, she stands convicted of hypocrisy, if not of falsehood. The latter is the most probable supposition, if we may judge from the following anecdote.

It happened that one day a letter of the Duchess of Orleans, in which Madame de Maintenon was reviled in the grossest language, fell into the hands of that lady, who thereupon took the first opportunity which presented itself of questioning Madame as to whether she ever spoke of her in such terms; this the former (unaware of the proofs of her treachery Madame de Maintenon had in her possession), denied in the strongest language. Her dismay and confusion may be better imagined than described, when Madame de Maintenon, putting her hands into her pocket, coolly drew forth the offending missive.

The dependence to be placed upon the following relation by the Duchess of an interview which took place between her son and the widow of Louis

must be judged by the reader. She says, "My son asked Madame de Maintenon what were her motives in propagating the reports that were spread against him, asking her to put her hand upon her heart, and say whether her calumnies were true. To this she replied, 'I said so, because I believed them.' 'But,' said the Duke, 'you could not believe them, because you knew to the contrary.' 'Is not the Dauphiness dead?' she arrogantly replied. 'Is it my fault,' rejoined the Duke, 'that she is dead? Was she immortal?' 'Well,' she replied, 'I was so much distressed at the loss that I could not help detesting him whom I was told was the author of it.' 'But, Madame,' said the Duke, 'you knew from the report that was presented the king, that I was not the cause of it, and that in fact the Dauphiness was not poisoned.' 'I do know it,' she replied, 'and will say nothing more about it.'"

If Madame really believed this relation, the following letter from her to Madame de Maintenon must have been strangely at variance with her real feelings, and does little credit to her assumed frankness of disposition. "I have to acquaint you, Madame," she writes, "with my joy at a new favour I have received from the king, which is, that he allowed me to see him yesterday in his closet. As I am indebted to you for all my favours, and as it is by your means that my reconciliation with the king has been made, my gratitude to you increases every day, and my friendship will very soon equal

the esteem which is due to you."* What Madame's professions of friendship and gratitude were worth may be estimated from the narratives preceding this letter.

The death of the king, which took place on the 1st of September, 1715, had been long anticipated; for the life of a monarch whose lengthened reign had been coeval with those of our Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, Charles II., James II., William III., and Mary II., Anne, and George I., could not, in accordance with the ordinary laws of nature, have been much longer prolonged. He had been preceded to the tomb by his youngest grandson, the Duke of Berry, who had espoused Madame's eldest grand-daughter, the Princess Mary Louisa of Orleans; so that of the once numerous family of Bourbon there remained only the dauphin, afterwards Louis XV.; Philip V., King of Spain, who, on succeeding to the Spanish throne, had solemnly renounced that of France; and the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Regent. Louis le Grand proved by his death that he was really a great man, for notwithstanding the sufferings he endured he expired with calmness and fortitude. He was so weakened by a low fever, from which he had suffered for three months preceding his death, that he was reduced to a perfect skeleton. The immediate cause of his decease was a gangrene in the leg, which appeared only ten days previously. Madame, with all the other mem-

* Letters of Madame de Maintenon.

bers of the Bourbon family, excepting the Princess of Conti and Duchess of Vendome (daughters of Henry Julius, Prince of Condé), and his legitimated daughter, the Grand Princess of Conti, were present at his deathbed. Calling them around him, the dying monarch pathetically exhorted his natural children to live together on terms of concord (an admonition much needed), when Madame thinking he spoke to her said, "Sire, you shall be obeyed." "Madame," said the king, in a stern voice, "you thought I spoke to you; no, no! you are a sensible person, and I know you; it is to the Princesses (meaning his natural children, and alluding to their constant dissensions) that I spoke."

The character and policy of Louis XIV. have been unjustly traduced by English writers, but the French—who ought to be better judges of what most conduced to their country's welfare—have formed a much truer estimate of his personal merits. It must never be forgotten that it was his generous hospitality to James II. (unrivalled, as Macaulay admits, by any other monarch of modern times), which earned for him the hatred of the Anglo-Dutch party, in their own estimation sole representatives of England; *they* it was who spread malicious reports of his vast ambition, criminal designs, and boundless power, the latter to their imaginations grossly exaggerated; *they* it was who leagued together the European states against him, and then complained of *his* lawless proceedings in originating

a war *they* had themselves provoked.* The fault which some French writers find with Louis for not concluding peace sooner than he did, when he found the fortunes of war were against him, is a charge which cannot be borne out by facts; for is it—or is it not the truth—that he more than once offered the largest concessions, which the allies, adding insult to injury, contumeliously rejected? Was the condition, we demand, that Louis should unite his forces with theirs in order to drive his grandson from the throne of Spain, intended by them to herald a general pacification, or was it not more truly suggested as the surest obstacle to that event? Even if, as we deny, Louis originated the war that disturbed the peace of Europe, on his head, at all events, rests not the sin of having prolonged the strife; for it was impossible for him without dishonour to have concluded peace sooner than he did. The direful state to which his kingdom was reduced is alone proof of this, even if the secret letters of Madame de Maintenon had not revealed it to the public eye.† It is impossible for any one, not wilfully blind, to peruse these epistles without arriving at the firm conviction that Louis and Madame de Maintenon would have made any reasonable sacrifice to insure peace, and that, in fact, they used every exertion to conclude it years before it took place.

* The League of Augsburg, formed 1688; and for his refusal to be a party to which, James II. lost the throne of England.

† See the Secret Correspondence of Madame de Maintenon with the Princess des Ursins.

One other blot upon Louis's character demands a passing allusion—we allude to his persecution of the Huguenots; and here let us not be misinterpreted as justifying for one moment his conduct in reference to that direful calamity—for calamity, in every sense of the word, it was—not only for the unfortunate beings who were denuded of their homes, but for him who by strict retributive justice stood convicted as the author of these atrocities. We shall merely offer a few remarks, slightly palliative of his bigotry, which may not generally be taken into account, when forming an estimate of his personal character. We will quote from Madame, certainly not a prejudiced or interested witness, on this point. She says, "It was impossible for a man to be more ignorant of religion than was the king. I cannot understand how his mother could have brought him up with so little knowledge on this subject. He believed all the priests said to him, as if it came from God himself. Old Maintenon and Père la Chaise persuaded him that all the sins he had committed with Madame de Montespan would be pardoned, if he persecuted and extirpated the professors of the Reformed religion, and that this was the only path to heaven. The poor king believed it fervently, for he had never seen a Bible in his life." (Here Madame is mistaken, for Madame de Maintenon, who must necessarily have been better informed, says, "The king abounds with good sentiments; he sometimes reads the Bible, and considers

it the finest of all books."*) "It was immediately after this that the persecution of the Huguenots commenced. He knew no more of religion than what his confessors chose to tell him, and they had made him believe that it was not lawful to investigate in matters of religion, but that the reason should be prostrated in order to gain heaven" (the old tale, be it observed). "He was, however, earnest enough himself, and it was not his fault that hypocrisy reigned at court. It was formerly the custom to swear horridly on all occasions, but the king detested this practice, and soon abolished it."† From this narrative of Madame's it is evident that Louis's erroneous policy in religious matters was the result rather of ignorance than of bigotry. When we consider how much he accomplished, notwithstanding the limited education he had received, we may fairly infer what he would have done, had he enjoyed the benefits of a good education, and such preceptors, for example, as he appointed for his son and grandson. Peace be to the ashes of the old king! for the good he accomplished sprang from the innate goodness of his heart, whilst the evil was attributable to his imperfect education.

The death of the king brought Madame into greater notoriety as the mother of the Regent of France, but it brought with it no accession of political influence, as she carefully refrained from meddling in State affairs. Her son had had issue

* Letters of Madame de Maintenon.

† Duchess of Orleans.

a numerous family, consisting of a son and six daughters. Two of her grand-daughters, the Princesses Adelaide and Charlotte, constantly resided with her; though they evinced no more love for her society, than she did for theirs. They liked her, however, better than their mother, and this seems to have contented her: it was their resemblance to the hated family of Mortemart which annoyed her, by reminding her of her son's ignominious marriage. With her eldest grand-daughter, the Duchess of Berry, she was never on good terms, for her licentious manners but ill accorded with Madame's correct notions.* Her next grand-daughter, Adelaide, greatly in opposition to her wishes, entered a convent. She selected that of Chelles, where she made her profession as sister Bathilda. The Baroness d'Oberkirch says she was induced to take this step by some disappointment in a love intrigue, and that she was enamoured of a handsome footman.† Madame earnestly, though ineffectually, endeavoured to dissuade her from it. It is curious to find her even terming Adelaide's vocation, "a diabolical project;" proof sufficient, if any were needed, of the little respect in which she held her adopted religion. The Princess Adelaide was the most beautiful of her grand-daughters, and

* The eldest daughter of the Regent, Mary Louisa, had espoused the Duc de Berri, youngest grandson of Louis Quatorze. Madame was delighted at the marriage, as it brought her grand-daughter within the pale of legitimate royalty.

† Memoirs of the Baroness d'Oberkirch.

the only one for whom she entertained any real affection. Her third grand-daughter Charlotte, by no means one of her favourites, espoused the Duke of Modena. This young lady, who strongly resembled the Duchess of Berry in her amorous propensities, was suspected of an intrigue with the Duc de Richelieu: to stop the reports which were afloat respecting her, her father insisted on her marrying the Duke of Modena, which she consented to do, on condition that he should release her lover, whom he had imprisoned. This he agreed to, and the Princess Charlotte's settlement was determined upon. It is amusing to find how afflicted the French princesses were at the idea of leaving their own country to espouse a foreigner; for in their eyes an alliance with any of the blood-royal, however distantly removed from the crown, was considered preferable to marrying an independent sovereign, however potential. La Grande Mademoiselle; Mary Louisa, Queen of Spain; and the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, are noted examples of this partiality. The Princess Charlotte was destined to add another to the list of these perverse ladies. "Never," says her grandmother, "have I seen a bride more sorrowful; for the last three days she has neither eaten nor drunk, and her eyes are filled with tears. I believe she wishes to see everything and anything except her husband. It may truly be said, she has eaten her white bread first."* The

* Duchess of Orleans.

princess journeyed so slowly out of France, although the bridegroom was awaiting her on the frontiers, that her father sent her peremptory orders to use more diligence. Fortunately she liked him better than she expected, though this did not deter her from returning to France to end her days: a course invariably adopted by the regent's daughters. Of Madame's remaining grand-daughters, Louisa, the next eldest, espoused Louis I., King of Spain, the youthful monarch in whose favour his father Philip abdicated the throne in 1724. It was an ill-assorted union, for the bride was proud, sulky, and uncomplying, and irritated her husband by her hauteur. A separation was talked of, which was probably only prevented by the death of the youthful king; who, seized with small-pox, and unskilfully treated by his physicians, sank under the disease, 31st of August, 1724, in the eighteenth year of his age. His bride, so soon become a widow, returned to France, where she died, A.D. 1743. The next sister, Philippa, was betrothed to the deceased Louis's half-brother, afterwards Charles III., King of Spain; but the marriage never took place, as the premature decease of the Duke of Orleans prevented such good settlements for his younger daughters. Elizabeth, the youngest of the six sisters, was fortunate enough to secure the Prince of Conti: an alliance her eldest sisters much envied her. This princess died very young, barely attaining her twentieth year. Her husband

survived her half a century. Madame was not very partial to her grandson, the only brother of these princesses; for he was fond of his mother—the only one of his family who was,—and was, moreover, of too religious and gentle a temperament to assimilate with her notions. His education had been confided to the care of the abbé Montgault, who worthily performed his duty to his distinguished pupil; it being said that the duke owed his religious principles entirely to the instructions of this excellent man. He was surnamed the Pious Duke of Orleans, and was incomparably the best prince of his house. His romantic admiration for the equally pious Mary Letzsinska, queen of Louis XV., is matter of notoriety. To this princess, had not the king espoused her, he would have been married. He died in 1752, leaving behind him, what perhaps no other prince of the House of Orleans has done—an unsullied reputation. He was as much neglected and misunderstood by his father as his grandmother; which is not to be wondered at when we consider their different habits. It is said that one day on some one hinting to the regent Orleans, that he might get rid of his youthful sovereign, and open his own way to the throne, he turned round, and pointing to his son, said, "Do you think I would get rid of a noble young sovereign like ours for such a simpleton as that?" The duke was sincere in his remark, as he really loved his nephew better than his son.

The Duchess of Orleans had attained her seventieth

year without feeling any of the infirmities usual to her period of life; but, ultimately, symptoms of dropsy appeared, indicating that her mortal career was swiftly drawing to a close. Her last appearance in public was at the coronation of the youthful king at Rheims. On her return from thence it became apparent that she was rapidly sinking under her disease. Courageous to the last, she showed no fear of the king of terrors. "It is ridiculous," she sagely remarks, "to think that God cares more for us people of rank, than for those of commoner degree; for myself, I have no such illusion. I know that my hour is fixed, and that I shall not live a moment beyond it." Embued with these sentiments, Madame met her fate with dignity and composure. She had a last interview with her son, little thinking that six months would not elapse before he would follow her; and then, all earthly affairs being transacted, she prepared herself for her final departure. She died on the eighth day of December, 1722, at St. Cloud; and in the communion of the Romish Church, of which, at her marriage, she had become a votary. She was interred, with other members of her race, at St. Denis; that favourite resting-place of the Royal Family of France. Massillon, Bishop of Clermont, pronounced her funeral oration: in it he dwelt, rather infelicitously, on her strict adherence to the Roman ritual, the very point, had he consulted good taste, he would have remained silent upon; since her writings furnish abundant

evidence that she secretly adhered to the religion of her ancestors. To the assertions of Massillon, "that she never relapsed into the faith she had left, for she had embraced it from conviction,"* we would oppose her own testimony, where she says, "I perform all outward ceremonies; I go to mass with the king every week; but that does not deprive me of the edifying consolation of the Lutheran prayers." And again, "Falsehood and superstition were never to my taste." Or if further proof be needed, we find her terming her grand-daughter Adelaide's wish to enter a convent, "a diabolical project," and speaking of it as "that accursed cloister:" neither can she disguise her surprise that Prince Maximilian, of Hanover, brother to George I., should have changed his religion without any temporal advantage accruing to him; for she says, "I cannot conceive why Duke Maximilian changed his religion, as he had little faith in general, and none of his relations solicited him to do so, and he was induced by no personal interest."† This language sufficiently proves that, to Madame, either religion, speaking abstractedly of their points of divergence, was immaterial; and this much we think may be gathered from her writings. Voltaire, more truthful than Massillon, remarks, "that she renounced Calvinism in order to marry Monsieur, but that she ever

* Massillon's Oraison Funèbre d'Elizabeth Charlotte, Princesse Palatine du Rhin, Duchesse d'Orléans.

† Duchess of Orleans.

retained a secret attachment for it," "which," he naïvely remarks, "it is difficult to divest oneself of when early prejudices have impressed it on the heart;"* a statement which conveys a fair impression of the points at issue. The children of Madame and Philip of Orleans, senior representatives of the House of Stuart-Simmeren, were :

b. 1764. Philip II., Duke of Orleans, m. Mademoiselle de Blois, natural daughter of Louis XIV., d. 1723. Issue,

— b. 1676. Elizabeth Charlotte, m. Leopold, the good Duke of Lorraine, d. 1744.

b. 1703.		b. 1695.		b. 1698.		b. 1700.		b. 1709.		b. 1714.		b. 1716.
Louis I., Duke of Orleans, m. Augusta, daughter of the Margrave of Baden, d. 1752.	—	Mary Louisa, m. Charles, Duke of Berry, grandson of Louis XIV., d. s. p. 1719.	—	Adelaide, Abbess of Chelles, d. s. p.	—	Charlotte, m. Francis d'Este, Duke of Modena, d.	—	Louisa, m. Louis I., King of Spain, d. s. p. 1743.	—	Philippa, Mademoiselle de Beaujolais, d. s. p.	—	Elizabeth, m. Louis, Prince of Conti, d. 1736. Had issue Louis, last Prince of Conti, b. 1734, who d. s. p.

* Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV.

Louis I., Duke of Orleans, born 1703, died 1752, leaving issue:

b. 1725. Louis Philip I., Duke of Orleans, m. Louisa, of Conti, d. 1784.

b. 1747. Philip III., Duke of Orleans, ci-devant Citizen Egalité, m. Louisa, daughter of the Duc de Penthievre, mise à mort at Paris, 1793, leaving issue,

— b. 1750. Louisa, m. Louis V., Duke of Bourbon, by whom she had issue Louis, Duc d'Enghien, b. 1772, massacred by command of Napoleon, 1804, s. p.

b. 1773. Louis Philip I., King of the French, m. Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand I., King of Naples, d. 1850, leaving issue,

— b. 1775. Anthony, Duke of Montpensier, d. s. p. 1807.

— b. 1779. Louis, Count of Beaujolais, d. s. p. 1808.

— b. 1777. Adelaide, d. s. p. 1847.

b. 1810. Ferdinand, Duke of Orleans, m. 1837, Helen, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schweren, d. 1842, leaving issue,

— b. 1814. Louis, Duke of Nemours, m. 1840, Victoria, daughter of Ferdinand, Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha. Has issue,

— b. 1818. Francis, Prince de Joinville, m. Frances, daughter of Pedro I., Emperor of Brazil, s. m.

— b. 1822. Henry, Duke of Aumale, m. 1844, Caroline, daughter of the Prince of Salerno. Has issue,

— b. 1824. Anthony, Duke of Montpensier, m. Louisa, daughter of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, s. m.

— b. 1812. Louisa, m. 1832, Leopold, King of Belgium, d. 1850, leaving issue,

— b. 1813. Mary, m. Duke Alexander of Wirtemburg, d. 1839.

— b. 1817. Clementina, m. 1843, Augustus, Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha. Has issue four children.

b. 1838. Louis Philip, Count of Paris.

— b. 1840. Robert, Duke of Chartres.

b. 1842. Louis, Count of Eu.

b. 1844. Ferdinand, Duke of Alençon.

b. 1846. Marguerite.

b. 1845. Louis Philip, Prince of Conde.

b. 1854. Henry, Duke of Guise.

b. 1835. Leopold, Duke of Brabant, m. 1853, Mary, daughter of the Archduke Joseph, of Austria.

— b. 1837. Philip, Count of Flanders.

b. 1840. — Charlotte.

Charlotte, born 1700, third daughter of the Regent, married Francis d'Este, Duke of Modena, by whom she had issue :

b. 1727. Hercules, Duke of Modena, m. Mary Theresa, Princess of Massa Carrara, d. leaving issue,

b. 1750. Beatrice, m. Archduke Ferdinand, son of Mary Theresa, of Austria, d. 1829. Issue,

b. 1779. Francis IV., Duke of Modena, m. Beatrice, daughter of Victor Emanuel I., of Sardinia, d. s. m. 1846.

b. 1781. Ferdinand, d. s. p.

b. 1782. Maximilian, s. p.

b. 1785. Charles, d. s. p.

b. 1773. Theresa, m. Victor Emanuel I., King of Sardinia, d. s. m.

b. 1776. Anne, m. Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine, d. s. p.

b. 1788. Louisa, m. Francis II., Emperor of Austria, d. s. p. 1816.

b. 1726. Charlotte, m. the Duke of Penthievre, d.

b. 1747. Alexander, Prince de Lamballe, m. daughter of Louis Victor, of Savoy Carignan, d. s. p. 1768.

b. 1731. Fortuna, m. Louis, last Prince of Conti, d. s. p. 1803.

Louisa, m. Philip III., Duke of Orleans, d. s. m. 1720.

b. 1729. Matilda, d. s. p. 1803.

b. 1741. Elizabeth, d. s. p. 1774.

Elizabeth Charlotte, born 1676, the daughter of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of

Orleans, married Leopold, the Good, Duke of Lorraine, by which union she became ancestress of the Royal Family of Austria. Her issue were:

b. 1708. Francis I., Emperor of Germany, m. Mary Theresa, Empress of Austria, d. 1764. Issue,

b. 1712. Charles, Duke of Lorraine, m. the Archduchess Mary Anna, daughter of Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, d. s. p.

b. 1711. Elizabeth, m. Charles Emanuel III., King of Sardinia, d. s. m. 1741.

b. 1714. Charlotte, Abbess of Remiremont, d. s. p. 1773.

b. 1741. Joseph II., Emperor of Germany; m. 1stly, Elizabeth, daughter of Philip, Duke of Parma; 2ndly, Josephine, daughter of the Emperor Charles VII., of Germany, d. s. p. 1790.

b. 1744. Charles, d. s. p. 1760.

b. 1747. Leopold II., Emperor of Germany, m. Mary Louisa, daughter of Charles III., King of Spain, d. 1792. Issue,

b. 1754. Ferdinand, Duke of Modena, m. Beatrice, daughter of Hercules, Duke of Modena, d. s. m. 1806.

b. 1756, Maximilian, Elector of Cologne, d. s. p. 1806.

b. 1738. Mary Anne, Abbess of Prague, d. s. p. 1789.

b. 1742. Christina, m. Albert, Duke of Saxe-Teschen, son of Augustus III., King of Poland, d. s. p. 1798.

b. 1743. Elizabeth, Abbess of Inspruck, d. s. p.

b. 1746. Amelia, m. Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, d. s. m. 1804.

b. 1750. Josephine, d. s. p. 1767.

b. 1752. Caroline, m. Ferdinand I., King of Naples, d. 1814.

b. 1755. Mary Antoinette, m. Louis XVI., King of France, mise à mort at Paris, s. m. 1793.

b. 1768. Francis II., Emperor of Austria; m. 1stly, Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Wirtemburg; 2ndly, Mary Theresa, daughter of Ferdinand I., King of Naples; 3rdly, his cousin, Mary Louisa, daughter of Ferdinand of Modena; 4thly, Charlotte, daughter of the King of Bavaria. Issue by second wife, d. 1835,

b. 1793. Ferdinand I., Ex-Emperor of Austria, m. 1852, Anne, daughter of Victor Emanuel I., of Sardinia; abdicated the throne, 1848, s. p.

b. 1830. Francis Joseph I., Emperor of Austria, m. 1854, Elizabeth, daughter of Maximilian, King of Bavaria.

b. 1769. — Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, m. Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand I., of Naples, d. 1824.

b. 1771. — Charles, m. Henrietta, daughter of the Duke of Nassau-Weilbourg, d. 1847.

b. 1772. — Leopold, d. s. p. 1791.

b. 1775. — Maximilian, d. s. p.

b. 1776. — Joseph, m. 1stly, Alexandrina, daughter of the Emperor Paul, of Russia; 2ndly, Herminia, daughter of the Prince of Anhalt; 3rdly, Mary Dorothy, daughter of the King of Wirtemburg, d. 1847.

b. 1779. — Anthony, d. s. p. 1835.

b. 1782. — John, s. p.

b. 1783. — Regnier, m. Frances, daughter of Charles Emanuel, of Savoy Carignan, d. 1853.

b. 1784. — Louis, s. p.

b. 1788. — Rodolph, Archbishop of Olmutz, d. s. p.

b. 1767. — Mary Theresa, m. Anthony, King of Saxony, d. s. p.

b. 1770. — Mary Anne, d. s. p.

b. 1777. — Clementina, m. Francis I., King of Naples, d. 1801.

b. 1788. — Amelia, d. s. p.

b. 1802. Francis Charles, m. Sophia, daughter of Maximilian, King of Bavaria. Has issue,

b. 1832. Ferdinand. — b. 1833. Charles. — b. 1842. Louis,

b. 1791. Mary Louisa, m. the Emperor Napoleon, d. 1847. Issue,

b. 1811. Napoleon, Duke of Reichstadt, d. s. p. 1832.

b. 1797. Leopoldina, m. Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, d. s. m. 1826.

b. 1798. Mary, m. Leopold, Prince of Salerno, son of Ferdinand I., of Naples. Has issue,

b. 1822. Caroline, m. 1844, Henry, Duke of Aumale, son of Louis Philip, s. m.

b. 1801. Caroline, m. Frederick Augustus V., King of Saxony, d. s. p. 1832.

b. 1804. Anne, Abbess of Prague, s. p.

Ferdinand, born 1769, second son of the Emperor Leopold II., of Germany, inherited the duchy of Tuscany from his father. He married Amelia, daughter of Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies, and dying 1824, left issue by her :—

b. 1797. Leopold, Reigning Grand Duke of Tuscany, m. 1stly, Mary Anne, daughter of Duke Maximilian of Saxony ; 2ndly, 1833, Antoinette, daughter of Francis I., King of Naples, s. m.

b. 1798. Louisa, d. s. p. 1857.

b. 1801. Theresa, m. 1817, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, d. 1855. Issue,

b. 1820. Victor Emanuel II., Reigning King of Sardinia, m. 1842, Adelaide, daughter of Archduke Regnier of Austria. Has issue,

b. 1822. Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa, m. 1850, Elizabeth, daughter of John, King of Saxony, d. s. m. 1855.

b. 1844. Humbert, Prince Royal of Sardinia.

b. 1845. Amadeus, Duke of Aosta.

b. 1846. Otho, Duke of Montferrat.

b. 1843. Clotilda.

b. 1847. Mary.

The Archduke Charles of Austria, born 1771, married, 1815, Henrietta, Princess of Nassau-Weilbourg, and dying 1847, left issue by her :—

b. 1817. Albert, m. 1844, Hildegarde, daughter of Louis, King of Bavaria. Has issue,

b. 1845. Mary Theresa.

b. 1818. Charles Ferdinand, m. 1854, his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Archduke Joseph, and widow of Archduke Victor of Modena.

b. 1849. Matilda.

b. 1827. William.

b. 1830. Frederick, d. s. p. 1847.

b. 1816. Theresa, m. 1837, Ferdinand II., King of the Two Sicilies, s. m.

b. 1825. Caroline, m. 1852, her cousin Regnier, son of Archduke Regnier.

The Archduke Joseph of Austria, born 1776, married, firstly, Alexandrina, daughter of the Emperor Paul of Russia, by whom he had no issue; secondly, 1815, Herminia of Anhalt-Berbourgh Schaumbourg, by whom he had a son, Etienne; thirdly, 1819, Mary Dorothy, daughter of Louis, Duke of Wirtemburg, by whom he had a son and two daughters. The Archduke Joseph died 1847, leaving issue:—

b. 1817. Etienne.	b. 1833. Joseph.	b. 1831. Elizabeth, m. 1stly, 1847, Victor, son of Francis IV., Duke of Modena; 2ndly, 1854, her cousin, Charles Ferdinand, son of Archduke Charles of Austria.	—	b. 1836. Mary, m. 1853, Leopold, Duke of Brabant, heir-apparent to the throne of Belgium.

The Archduke Regnier of Austria, born 1783, married, 1820, Elizabeth, sister of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia; and dying 1853, left issue by her:—

b. 1823. Leopold.	b. 1824. Ernest.	b. 1826. Sigismond.	b. 1827. Regnier, m. 1852, his cousin Caroline, daughter of Archduke Charles, s. m.	b. 1828. Henry.	b. 1822. Adelaide, m. 1842, Victor Emanuel II., King of Sardinia, d. s. m. 1855.

Clementina, born 1777, third daughter of the Emperor Leopold II., married Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies; and dying 1801, left issue an only daughter, Caroline, born 1798, who married, 1816, Charles, Duc de Berri, son of Charles X., King of France; and whose succession merges in that of her husband.

Caroline, born 1752, sixth daughter of the Empress Mary Theresa; married, 1768, Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies. She died 1814, leaving issue:—

b. 1777. Francis I., King of the Two Sicilies, m. 1stly, Clementina, daughter of Leopold II., Emperor of Germany; 2ndly, Isabella, daughter of Charles IV., King of Spain, d. s. m. 1830.

b. 1790. Leopold, Prince of Salerno, m. Mary, daughter of Francis II., of Austria, d. s. m 1851.

b. 1772. Mary Theresa, m. Francis II., Emperor of Austria, d. s. m. 1807.

b. 1773. Amelia, m. Ferdinand III., Duke of Tuscany, d. s. m. 1802.

b. 1779. Christina, m. Charles Felix I., King of Sardinia, d. s. p. 1849.

b. 1782. Mary Amelia, m. Louis Philip, Ex-King of the French, s. m.

b. 1784. Mary Antoinette, m. Ferdinand VII., King of Spain, d. s. p. 1806.

The following are the Descendants of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans, arranged in order of succession. They include the Royal Families of Austria and Belgium, the Ducal Family of Tuscany, and the ex-dynasty of France.

The Dynasty of Orleans.

1. Louis Philip, Comte de Paris, b. 1838.
2. Robert, Duc de Chartres, b. 1840.
3. Louis, Duc de Nemours, b. 1814.
4. Francis, Prince de Joinville, b. 1818, s. m.
5. Henry, Duc d'Aumale, b. 1822.
6. Anthony, Duc de Montpensier, b. 1824, s. m.

The Royal Family of Belgium.

7. Leopold, Duke of Brabant, b. 1835.
8. Philip, Count of Flanders, b. 1837.
9. Charlotte, Princess of Belgium, b. 1840.

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10. Duke Philip of Wirtemburg, b. 1838.

11. Clementine, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, b. 1817.

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12. The Archduke Maximilian of Modena, b. 1782, s. p.

The Royal Family of Austria.

13. Ferdinand I., Ex-Emperor of Austria, b. 1793, s. p.
14. The Archduke Francis Charles, b. 1802.
15. Mary, Princess of Salerno, née Archduchess of Austria, b. 1798.
16. The Archduchess Anne, Abbess of Prague, b. 1804, s. p.

The Ducal Family of Tuscany.

17. Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, b. 1797, s. m.
18. Louisa, Princess of Tuscany, b. 1798.

The Royal Family of Sardinia.

19. Victor Emanuel II., King of Sardinia.

The Royal Family of Austria.

20. The Archduke Albert, b. 1817.
21. The Archduke Charles Ferdinand, b. 1818.
22. The Archduke William, b. 1827.
23. Theresa, Queen of the Two Sicilies, née Archduchess of Austria, b. 1816, s. m.
24. Caroline, Archduchess of Austria, b. 1825.
25. The Archduke Etienne, b. 1817.
26. The Archduke Joseph, b. 1833.
27. Elizabeth, Archduchess of Austria, b. 1831, s. m.
28. Mary, Duchess of Brabant, née Archduchess of Austria, b. 1836, s. m.
29. The Archduke John, b. 1782, s. p.
30. The Archduke Leopold, b. 1823.
31. The Archduke Ernest, b. 1824.
32. The Archduke Sigismond, b. 1826.
33. The Archduke Regnier, b. 1827, s. m.
34. The Archduke Henry, b. 1828.
35. The Archduke Louis, b. 1784, s. p.

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36. Caroline, Duchesse de Berri, née Princess of the Two Sicilies, b. 1798.
37. Mary Amelia, Ex-Queen of the French, née Princess of the Two Sicilies, b. 1782, s. m.

IV.—LOUIS, PRINCE OF SALMS.

Louis Otto, Prince of Salms, the son of Louisa, Princess of Salms, who died 1679, before the passing of the Act of Succession, and grandson of Prince Edward Palatine, was born the 24th of October, 1674. He married 20th of July, 1700, Albertina Johannetta, daughter of Maurice Henry, Prince of Nassau-Hadamar, and dying 1716, left issue by her three daughters, his co-heiresses, viz.:

- b. 1702. Dorothy, m. 1719, Leopold Rhingrave, d. s. p.
- b. 1704. Elizabeth, m. 1721, Claudius, Prince of Ligne, Had issue, d.
- b. 1707. Christina, m. Prince Joseph, of Hesse Rhinfels. Had issue, d.

- b. 1721. Louis, d. s. p. 1778.
- b. 1732. Maximilian. Had issue,
  - b. 1762. Constantine, d. 1828.
    - b. 1786. Florentine, d. 1846.
      - b. 1814. Alfred, m. 1836, Augusta, of Croy Dulmen. Has issue.
        - b. 1838. Leopold.
    - b. 1793. Maximilian, d. 1836. Issue, one daughter.
    - b. 1820. Emile, m. 1851, Wilhelmina D'Ising.
  - b. 1766. George, d.
    - b. 1801. Francis, d. 1842. Issue, one daughter.
  - 1769. William, d.
    - b. 1810. Otho, s. p.
  - b. 1772. Louis, d.
- b. 1735. Charles. Had issue, d.
- b. 1742. Emanuel, d. s. p.
- b. 1743. Francis, d. s. p.
- b. 1745. William, d. s. p.

- b. 1731. Frances, m. George Adam, Prince of Stahremburg. Had issue, d.
- b. 1736. Josephine, m. Prince of Hohenlohe. Had issue, d.
- b. 1740. Mary Anne, m. Pedro of Portugal, d. s. p.
- b. 1728. Anne, m. Charles, Prince of Roham-Soubise, d. s. p.

- b. 1745. Maximilian, d. 1836. Issue, one daughter.
- b. 1746. Charles. Had issue, d.
- b. 1747. Alfred. Had issue, d.
- b. 1748. Emanuel. Had issue, d.
- b. 1749. Florentine. Had issue, d.
- b. 1750. Maximilian. Had issue, d.
- b. 1751. Matilda. Had issue, d.
- b. 1753. Frances. Had issue, d.
- b. 1754. Mary. Had issue, d.
- b. 1755. Constance. Had issue, d.
- b. 1758. Flaminia. Had issue, d.

- b. 1812. Edward. Has issue, two sons.
- b. 1817. Rhodolph. Issue, seven children.
- b. 1819. Albert. Issue, three children.
- b. 1821. Herman, s. p.
- b. 1794. Eleanora, m. 1819, Alfred, Duke of Croy Dulmen. Has issue, eight children.
- b. 1796. Jane, m. 1824, Prince Philip, of Croy Dulmen. Has issue, seven children.
  - b. 1828. Felix, s. p.

VI.

LOUISA,

PRINCESS OF SALMS.

Louisa, the eldest daughter of Louisa, Princess of Salms, was born 13th of March, 1672. She entered a convent at Nancy, in France, where she died, succession perishing A.D. 1707.

VII.

ELEANORA,

PRINCESS OF SALMS.

Eleanora Christina, the second daughter of Louisa, Princess of Salms, died, succession perishing.

VIII.

ANNE,

PRINCESS OF CONDÉ,

Née Princess Palatine.

The life of Anne, Princess of Condé, daughter-in-law of the Great Condé, is one that has never been written; for the simple reason, that the part this lady enacted in the drama of life was not sufficiently striking or prominent to entitle her to such a distinction: for only to her position as a Catholic Stuart, excluded the throne of England on account of her faith, does Anne owe her importance as an historical personage. Let us first devote a few words to the parents of this princess, who were allied on all sides to a kingly race.*

The father of Anne, Prince Edward Palatine, simple, guileless, and unassuming,† was wedded to a wife of no ordinary abilities; and one who by the force of her genius and political talent has rendered her name famous to posterity. Anne de Gonzague, the mother of our heroine, for it is of her we are speaking, was the second of the three daughters of the Duke of Nevers and Mantua, a petty Italian potentate, whose children were excluded their

* The family of Anne de Gonzague descended from the Paleologuses, Emperors of Constantinople.

† Prince Edward's career and ancestry has been previously narrated.

father's heritage by virtue of the Salic law which handed down the duchy to male heirs only. Anne and her sisters, Mary and Benedicta, were brought up with religious strictness at the convent of Fare Montier,* under the care of its pious Abbess, Mère Frances de la Châtre; the death of their mother, Catherine de Lorraine, during their infancy, almost necessitating such a measure.

Anne's eldest sister, the Princess Mary, had conceived the idea, in accordance with the custom of all great Houses, that her younger sisters were to be rendered entirely subservient to her own advancement; and with this notion, which her astonishing beauty and rare talents may have first contributed to raise in her, Anne was early destined for a religious life. The very means, however, which Mary took to ensure her object were destined most effectually to prevent it; for Anne was so indignant at the compulsion sought to be placed upon her, that she imbibed a mortal hatred to Fare Montier, and positively refused to embrace the conventual vows.† Taking counsel with her sister Benedicta, Abbess of Avenai, who fully sympathised with her feelings, she resolved on bidding an eternal adieu to Fare Montier, and taking refuge at Val d'Or; a step she accordingly effected; and by so doing disappointed the sordid views and interested calcu-

* In the Diocese of Meaux, in France.

† Bossuet's Oraison Funèbre d'Anne de Gonzague de Cleves, Princesse Palatine.

lations of those who sought to sacrifice her for their own aggrandizement. At Val d'Or everything bore a different aspect in Anne's eyes from that which presented itself at Fare Montier; for Benedicta, who was really a model of every virtue, and who never suffered an aspiration to stray beyond her prison walls, was contented and happy in her seclusion. "Her sweet conversation," says Bossuet, "reestablished in the heart of her sister those old associations which more latent ideas had served to banish; she listened anew to the voice of God, who seemed to call her by the force of so many powerful attractions to dedicate her life to His service, and the asylum she had chosen to secure her liberty became the innocent means of capturing it. As in Anne, so in her sister, was discerned the same nobility of sentiment, the same mutual agreement, and if it may be permitted thus to speak, the same insinuating manners; in both were apparent the same desires, the same graces, and never were sisters united together by sweeter or more powerful ties. Their lives would have been happy in their eternal union, and Anne aspired only to be an humble imitator of a sister, in whose character was developed every virtue."* Precisely at this epoch, and just as she was about solemnly to pledge herself to a religious life, her father died; and the settlement of his affairs calling his daughters to court, Benedicta, as the

* Bossuet.

least worldly, and perhaps the most suitable of the three, was chosen to adjust their different interests. "*Mais, ô coup funeste pour la Princesse Anne!* the pious Abbess was cut off suddenly in the midst of her labours and in the flower of her age, having barely attained her twentieth year. Truly her portion was in heaven!" On Anne's grief at a loss so affecting and irreparable, we need not dwell. But this was not all. Left alone in her twenty-first year, young, high-born, and beautiful, in the midst of the most splendid, if not the most dissolute Court in Europe, she soon saw how greatly she pleased; and we need not assert how the subtle poison of vanity, distilling itself into her heart, banished every good thought, and that all spiritual desires were forgotten. With Benedicta, her fondly loved sister, perished all ideas of a religious life.

On the next phase in the existence of the Princess Anne, charity would induce us to be silent. It is evident, from the relation of Bossuet, that she became involved in a round of dissipation and carnal pleasures which quickly eradicated all remembrance of the pious lessons she had imbibed at Avenai and Fare Montier. Her first *affaire de cœur* was with Henry of Guise, who, though named to the archbishopric of Rheims, had not taken holy orders, "a man whose whole conduct," according to madame de Motteville, "showed such a want of prudence and so much fickleness, even in lawful amours, that it was not possible for a woman to speak well of

him without disrespect to her own sex."* But of this, his real character, Anne was profoundly ignorant. He made her a promise of marriage, duly signed in writing, and when she, relying on his word, and even calling herself madame de Guise, foolishly set out to join him at Brussels, she found he had already married the Countess de Bossu. Nothing daunted by her ill-fortune, Anne retraced her steps to Paris, where her beauty and charming sense rendered it no difficult matter to find another partner. "Whilst her many perfections," says Bossuet, "fixed upon her the admiration of Europe, she was courted and won by Prince Edward, fifth son of Frederick V., Elector Palatine, a young prince who had taken refuge in France, in consequence of the misfortunes of his family. She preferred to the greatest wealth the virtues of this prince; and an alliance whereon on all sides were only to be found kings. She became his religious instructress, when he soon perceived the errors into which the last of his fathers, deserters of the ancient faith, had plunged him." His happy marriage to the Princess Anne was the means of achieving his conversion; Edward having at the time attained his twenty-first and Anne her twenty-ninth year.†

The same year brought about, after many delusive negotiations, the marriage of Anne's sister, the Princess Mary, an event which, from her continued

* Madame de Motteville's Memoirs of Anne of Austria.

† Bossuet.

misfortunes, had begun to be looked upon as an impossibility. From the memoirs of madame de Motteville, we glean a curious recital of the secret motives and clandestine intrigues which led to this match. That lady says, "The King of Poland, Ladislas IV.,* a king by election, and lawful heir to the crown of Sweden, being desirous to marry, caused Mademoiselle† to be privately sifted whether she had a mind to be queen. She received the proposal with great contempt; for the prince's old age, his goutiness, and the barbarity of his country made her refuse it in such a manner as plainly showed she did not think him good enough for her. The king had likewise some inclination for the Duchess de Guise, but this princess was not then in favour, because she had friends who were not in Cardinal Mazarin's good graces; and although she had virtue, merit, and likewise some remains of her pristine beauty, the marriage could not be brought about, because the queen-mother ‡ was opposed to it, and Madame de Guise evinced no inclination to hasten it. The old king, therefore, stuck to the Princess Mary, who had been proposed to him as well as the others, and she had both goodness and merit to recommend her. She had been on the point of marrying him some years pre-

* Ladislas IV. was the King of Poland who, some years previously, had unsuccessfully wooed Anne de Gonzague's sister-in-law, the Princess Elizabeth.

† La Grande Mademoiselle.

‡ Anne of Austria.

viously, during her father's lifetime, so that when the affair came to be again mooted, it was soon settled by the persons principally concerned. The Princess Mary had originally been very handsome and agreeable, and she was still so in a great measure, although she had passed those youthful days which have the special privilege of setting off all ladies."* Monsieur, † the king's brother, had once been in love with her, and would have married her but for his mother's ‡ interference, who imprisoned Mary at the Chateau de Vincennes on the very day Gaston had appointed to meet and run away with her from France. Monsieur, who at first was outrageous at his disappointment, was eventually attracted by a new object, and Marguerite de Lorraine, daughter of the duke of Lorraine, and whom he afterwards married, effectually banished all remembrance of Mary de Gonzague. "When a hero puts a period to his love at the first unlucky adventure that befalls him, it is natural to suppose that the heroine cannot be best pleased with him, and that the remembrance of it cannot be very agreeable to her. This passion of Monsieur's, which at first made a great noise, and which undoubtedly had an impression on Mary's heart, was not long-lived; but the remembrance of it was bitter when she saw herself neglected, and

* Madame de Motteville's Mémoires d'Anne d'Autriche. Mary was then thirty-one years of age.

† Gaston, Duke of Orleans.

‡ Mary de Medici.

ever after her imprisonment she implacably hated the Duke of Orleans. It was after this that they talked of marrying her to the King of Poland; but as affairs of this sort do not always succeed at first, he married a German princess in her stead, who, however, did not long survive, and, at her decease, left him only a daughter. Mary's father, the Duke of Mantua, dying very shortly after this abortive negotiation, she took up her residence at Paris, where she lived very agreeably with her friends, only seeking to divert herself and enjoy the pleasures of good society. Yet in this apparently happy situation she was not free from troubles, for she had but a small estate, and few husbands at her service. Her affairs, in short, grew so much worse that the Marquis des Cinq-mars, master of the horse, dared to aspire to her hand, and she received his advances not unfavourably. Her passion pleasing him, led him to form great designs, which ultimately proved his ruin; for, engaging in criminal practices against his country and Cardinal de Richelieu, that minister gained intelligence of his projects, and caused him to lose his life on the scaffold. This catastrophe afflicted the Princess Mary, and proved not at all to her credit, for it put her into a world of confusion, and made her passion everywhere manifest. After the disgrace she suffered by this unlucky adventure, which seemed very much to diminish the noble pride which attaches itself to persons of her birth, she

might well have concluded there was no more happiness in life for her, and that all things would go against her. It happened otherwise, however, for the Princess of Condé, who had a particular affection for her, espoused her interests with zeal, and did all she could to facilitate the Polish match; she spoke to the Queen Mother and Cardinal Mazarin, and got the Duc d'Enghien, her son, and the whole cabal to act in her favour: at length she inclined the queen to prefer her before the Duchess de Guise; and Cardinal Mazarin, thinking that Mary, from being poor and depressed with misfortunes, would be grateful, was also agreeable." * All these reasons combined induced him to send Briegi into Poland to negotiate the marriage, who succeeded so skilfully in his management that Ladislas determined on sending ambassadors to France to demand her hand. The Duke of Orleans, who had suffered without pity, was now happy without envy, or if he really bestowed any thoughts upon her, they partook more of the character of hatred than love. The Palatine of Posen and the Bishop of Warmia were deputed by Ladislas to espouse Mary on his behalf, and on the day appointed she was married by proxy at the Chapel Royal.† "I went," says Madame de Motteville, "to see how she rigged herself for the ceremony. She looked very handsome, and as I thought, fairer than usual, though she was always very fair; but ladies on these oc-

* Madame de Motteville. † Ibid.

casions are never contented with what nature has given them. She was of tall stature, and at that time in pretty good case. She had fine black eyes, and hair of the same colour, a handsome set of teeth, and her features were not disagreeable, so that taking her altogether, she had the beauty and majestic air becoming a queen. She seemed deserving not only of what she had so nearly come to by marrying the Duke of Orleans, but of what she was going to be by marrying a king." Although the ceremony was performed very quietly in consequence of the disputes that arose among the French princes about precedency, and which it was found impossible satisfactorily to adjust, Mary was attired with great magnificence for the occasion. Her wedding clothes were a pair of stays and a petticoat of white linen, embroidered with silver, over which she had intended to wear the Royal Polish mantle, which was white, covered with flames of gold; but this she did not do, in consequence of the alterations necessitated from the ceremony being in private. She was adorned with the pearls and diamonds of the crown which the queen had herself matched together for her; and besides those she had a close crown, studded with diamonds and pearls of great value. When she was dressed she went to wait on the queen in her chamber, and after having thanked her for all favours conferred, she addressed herself to Cardinal Mazarin, who had always shown her much kindness, and told him, "She had come

to let him see whether the crown he was going to place on her head became her well." The queen then led her through the gallery into the Chapel, where the only members of the royal family present were the king (Louis XIV.), the Duc d'Anjou (Monsieur), and the Duke of Orleans, Mary's old lover. The princess knelt down on a floor-cloth in the middle of the chapel, the king being on the right and the queen on the left of her. Monsieur, the king's brother, and the Duke of Orleans, his uncle, were on their knees below her, and consequently the latter was on that day her inferior. Seeing herself raised above her treacherous lover, and even above the queen, to whom she had been subject before her father was a sovereign, it must, without doubt, have been the most glorious day to her in her life. The Bishop of Warmia celebrated mass, and the Palatine of Posen espoused his queen in the name of his master, while mesdames de Senecey and Champagne set the crown on her head. After the ceremony was completed, the queen-mother gave a grand dinner, at which she placed the new queen before her, and as soon as it was over, they retired into the great cabinet, Anne of Austria, as before, yielding Mary the right hand. She was next conducted to her palace at Nevers, where all the courtiers stayed to salute her, when a trait, highly characteristic of her disposition, appeared in the answer she made the Abbé de la Rivière, a favourite of the Duke of Orleans. The

Abbé, in paying her his compliments, told her, "It would have been better for her to have lived in France with the title of Madame"—to which she scornfully responded, "'Tis your master's fortune to be Monsieur, 'tis mine to be a Queen: I am contented with my destiny."*

Mary gained golden opinions from the French before she took her departure, by the civilities and courtesies she heaped upon them, and the moderation she evinced in her new station was considered as pleasing as it was commendable. By her friends in particular she was sincerely lamented, for to them, as heretofore, she was mild and conciliating; and assumed none of those queenly airs which perhaps her lately depressed state might have justified her in wearing. She was received with great honours in the countries she passed through on her way to Poland; but all her joy vanished when she saw the husband she had come to wed; for Ladislas, though gouty and infirm himself, was disappointed with the personal attractions of his youthful bride. He manifested, from the first introduction, great indifference towards her, and scarcely showed her even common marks of civility. Madame de Motteville says that, "he actually received her in a chair at church without rising or attempting to do so; and that when she came near him and fell upon her knees to kiss his hand, he received her salutations without any mark of good humour or kindness, and

* Madame de Motteville.

looked very coldly on her without saying a word; at the same time, turning towards the Ambassador Bregi, he said, loud enough to be heard by the whole Court, 'Is this the famous beauty you have told me so many wonders of?'" Poor Mary was so surprised at her ungracious reception that she told the Marchioness de Guebriant, her French attendant, that she would much rather return to France than remain in Poland. This lady was so indignant at the treatment her mistress met with, that she informed Ladislas her sovereign would not be pleased at the slights inflicted on a princess coming from France. These expostulations caused Ladislas to live on better terms with his wife, and in process of time they became tolerably reconciled; Mary contenting herself with the handsome presents, which, according to the custom of the country, the Poles lavished on their new queen: gifts which, during the troubles she was afterwards destined to undergo, proved as useful as they were welcome to her:* but we are anticipating; yet, to avoid again interrupting the continuity of our narrative, we may mention that Mary, on the death of Ladislas, which happened shortly after his marriage, espoused his brother and successor, John Casimir. As queen of this monarch, she was destined to strange reverses of fortune, and had to flee Poland and take refuge in Silicia: the fortitude she evinced in her misfortunes acquiring for her the admiration of all

* Madame de Motteville.

Europe: nor was her sister Anne less deserving of praise, for directly she heard of Mary's troubles, she stripped herself of everything she could divest herself of in order to send succour and assistance to a sister who had never loved her.* Touchingly does the Baroness de Bury, quoting from the admirable discourse of Bossuet, remark on this, that "whatever might be the faults and failings of the Princess Anne, and, alas, they were but too numerous! want of elevation and generosity could not be reckoned among them, for this her conduct to her sister Mary would alone suffice to prove, as when, by the invasion of Poland, under Charles Gustavus of Sweden, John Casimir and his wife were reduced to the direst extremities, the first manifestation of sympathy, the first sign of assistance came from Anne, who, in the midst of her own difficulties, sold nearly all she could dispose of to send a hundred thousand livres to a sister she had never loved, and whose desire had been wholly to seclude her from the world."†

Into the political intrigues of the day, in which Anne, as the famed Princess Palatine of the days of Mazarin and the Fronde, plunged so conspicuously, we need not enter; some mention of her adroitness and unrivalled skill in political combinations having been made in the notice of her husband; the eulogium passed on her by that consummate

* Bossuet.

† Baroness de Bury's Princess Palatine.

politician Frondeur, the Cardinal de Retz, forms the best test of her matchless abilities. Return we now to our heroine.

Anne Henrietta Julia, the second daughter of Prince Edward Palatine and Anne de Gonzague, was born at Paris, on the twenty-third day of July, 1648. She was named after her mother, although adopted from infancy by her aunt, Mary, queen of Poland, whose special favourite she was; a circumstance not to be wondered at when we reflect that Anne inherited to a surprising extent all the sprightly qualities and endearing attributes characteristic of her vivacious mother. With Louis XIV., in particular, she was a great favourite; as the Memoirs both of the Duc de St. Simon and of the Duchess of Orleans inform us, that she, of all the members of his family, was honoured with his special regard, and oftenest admitted to his private entertainments. Under these circumstances it may be imagined, that Louis viewed with no ordinary feelings of pleasure her alliance with a member of the blood royal, Henry Julius, Duc d'Enghien, son of that Prince of Condé, surnamed the Great; an union which was not less pleasing to the Prince than to Anne's mother, who had long been the best of friends, and who ardently desired their children's marriage. On this auspicious occasion, the renowned warrior and the female politician, emerging from their retirement in the country, came up to Paris to attend their children's espousals: Anne de Gonzague

having only left it a few months previously, on the death of her husband, which had occurred in the spring of the year.

It was on the eleventh of December, 1663, when Anne, a bride of sunny fifteen, espoused Henry Julius, duc D'Enghien. The marriage was celebrated with unparalleled magnificence; indeed, so great was the display, that it excited the jealousy of the Grande Mademoiselle, whose pride was wounded from the fact, that the coaches and equipages used on the occasion far exceeded her own in elegance and number.*

Of the husband of Anne, nothing very favourable can be recorded. He seems to have been an unworthy son of a great father, and but too loving mother. His conduct to this latter parent, whose strenuous exertions on behalf of her husband and son constitute her one of the heroines of history, is alone sufficient to render him contemptible. Claire Clemence de Maillé, Princess of Condé, Henry Julius's mother, was no ordinary character; a niece of Richelieu's, and wedded by his powerful influence to the first prince of the blood, Louis de Condé, Clemence trembled before the husband who sullenly and from compulsion only had wedded her. To a great mind, the defect in Clemence's birth would have been forgotten in the remembrance of her famous actions; for, of all the incidents recorded in history, none surpass in boldness and tender daring those of Claire Clemence de Maillé, on behalf of her hus-

* Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

band and infant son. But with poor Clemence all was destined to be in vain; neither her devotion, her tenderness, her bravery, nor her skilful diplomacy, could obliterate from the mind of her husband the remembrance of her lowly origin and lack of royal blood; and on pretences as flimsy as they were weakly disguised, he seized the opportunity of imprisoning her for life. This was bad enough; but what can be said in favour of a son who not only approved, but even abetted his mother's captivity, for the sake of the pecuniary benefits accruing to himself from her detention? Yet to such ignoble depths did Henry Julius descend! Therefore, and if on no other account, we cannot consider him a character worthy of admiration. The Duc de St. Simon confirms this impression of him, by saying that he was one of the worst and most fawning of the courtiers.* Bossuet's testimony is more favourable; but it must be remembered that, in his funeral oration on the father, this celebrated orator was addressing the son, the veritable Henry Julius himself.† That he was not a better husband than a son is evident from the Duc de Simon's memoirs, who says, "Anne was the continual victim of her husband's caprices. She was equally plain, virtuous, and foolish, though her sweetness and submission were never sufficient to shield her from his frequent insults, nor blows of his foot or fist, which were by no means rare."‡

* Duc de St. Simon.

† Bossuet's Oraison Funèbre de Louis le Grand, Prince de Condé.

‡ Duc de St. Simon.

Besides a son, who, in the annals of his House, is known as Louis III., of Condé, Anne had issue four daughters, named respectively, Mary Theresa, Anne, Louisa, and Mary Anne. In personal appearance, these princesses were nearly dwarfs, though not deficient in intellectual qualifications. The Prince of Condé, who was himself tall, used pleasantly to remark, that if his race thus continued to dwindle, it would at last come to nothing.* Louis III., in particular, though he had a face more like a gnome than a man,† had good parts, a noble air, and wanted neither sense, bravery, nor polite breeding. He had, moreover, a noble deportment, possessed many praiseworthy qualities, and had consequently many friends. His mind had been formed under the discipline of his grandfather, who took especial pains with his mental cultivation. He had the gratification of seeing him married, in 1685, to the king's daughter, Mademoiselle de Nantes, his eldest by Madame de Montespan. As the Duke was only seventeen, and his juvenile bride but twelve at the time of their espousals, they were separated until they should become of age. The king was very liberal to his daughter on the occasion; besides settling on her a pension of one hundred thousand francs per annum, he presented her with a million in ready money, and a set of pearls, diamonds, and emeralds worth at least a hundred thousand crowns.‡

Only a year after her marriage, the youthful

* Lord Mahon's Life of Louis, Prince de Condé.

† Souvenirs de Madame de Caylus.

‡ Dangeau.

duchess was seized with small-pox; a disease which, though not fatal to herself, was destined to prove so to her grandfather; for Condé, who was then at Chantilly, on being informed of her illness, determined at all risks on coming to attend on her; a task which the great age and increasing infirmities of the veteran warrior rendered him unequal to accomplish. In vain did his grandson (the duchess's husband), who met him on the road, journeying to Fontainebleau, endeavour to persuade him to return; Condé was inexorable, and continued his way; but the agitation of seeing his grand-daughter reduced to such a state—for, when he was admitted into her presence, even her mother had left her, thinking her dead—was too much for him. Finding himself rapidly sinking, he expressed a desire to return to Paris; but it was too late: he was about to break the bonds which united him to earth, and to take, as he expressed it, a longer journey. He wrote a last letter to the king, entreating him to pardon his nephew, the Prince de Conti, who was in disgrace; and on receiving a gracious answer in reply, he dictated a few lines to his majesty, thanking him for his condescension, and commending his family to his protection; after which, taking a last farewell of his son and daughter, he expired with perfect tranquillity, on the evening of the eleventh day of December, 1686.*

The Prince de Condé was sincerely mourned by all ranks and classes; and the king, to testify the respect and affection he entertained for the departed hero,

* Dangeau.

ordered that the Court mourning used on the occasion should be worn fifteen, instead of ten days, the time usually allotted to princes of the blood. His funeral oration, which was pronounced in the presence of his son and daughter (by his death become Prince and Princess of Condé,) by Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, is considered the great masterpiece of that celebrated orator. The Duchess de Bourbon, the innocent cause of Condé's death, was convalescent, and made her appearance at Court, within a fortnight of his decease.

Anne's eldest daughter, Mary Theresa, was considered by the Duchess of Orleans the most amiable of that princess's family, and the one who most closely resembled her mother. She was not very happily married; for her husband, that Francis Louis, Prince of Conti, who by election became King of Poland, was "jealous as a fiend" of her, although without the slightest cause. He would never let her know where she was to pass the night, for if she made arrangements to sleep at Versailles, he would take her to Paris or Chantilly; and when she supposed she was going to sleep there, then he would oblige her to set out for Versailles. He tormented her in all possible ways, and was in appearance just like a little ape. Mary Theresa lost her husband in 1709; and if we may believe the testimony of the duchess of Orleans, she sincerely lamented her odious persecutor; for that lady says, "Notwithstanding all the Princess of Conti suffered, she daily regretted the loss of her husband. I was

often quite angry to see her bewailing her widowhood, instead of enjoying the repose it afforded her; she used to wish that her husband was alive again, even although he would torment her as much as before."* Madame de Maintenon, on the contrary, says the princess seemed to lament him very little, and that she soon got over her loss.† Mary Theresa had originally been delighted with her marriage to her cousin, as it entailed her residence at the French court; and when there was some talk of marrying her to the King of Portugal, who made proposals for her, she used all her influence with her father and grandfather to induce their rejection of them: her fears were ultimately set at rest by the king's espousal of a daughter of the Elector Palatine, though probably Mary Theresa might have led a happier life had she married this dreaded royal suitor.

The second daughter of the Princess de Condé, Anne, Mademoiselle de Condé, never married, although she was the handsomest of her family: she died at Asnières, near Paris, whither her mother had her conveyed for the benefit of her health, A.D. 1700, in the twenty-sixth year of her age. The poor Princess of Condé, who was warmly attached to her children, although she met with little return of gratitude from them, attended her to the last; only leaving her chamber when her case was declared hopeless.

The next daughter of the Princess of Condé,

* Duchess of Orleans. † Correspondence of Mad. de Maintenon.

Louisa, was the most accomplished of the sisters: she was celebrated for her wit, genius, and taste in the fine arts; and though very short, her advantage of them in stature by an inch, caused her selection as the bride of the Duc du Maine. Her mother and father were much gratified by this marriage, which inducted her as a member of the royal family; for unlike the Duchess of Orleans, they minded not the illegitimacy of M. du Maine. This marriage was celebrated with some magnificence, March 19th, 1692. The King of England, James II., was present at the ceremony, although his poor Queen, Mary Beatrice, was absent, on account of her advanced pregnancy with the princess Louisa Stuart, whose birth took place the ensuing month.

The youngest daughter of the Princess of Condé, Mary Anne, was not married until after her father's death: she wedded the Duc de Vendome, an illegitimate descendant of Henri Quatre. Her father had always opposed the match, and would never allow the subject to be mentioned to him; not that he objected to M. de Vendome's rank, but he considered that he had not treated him with sufficient respect. After his death, however, the Duke and Duchess of Maine, who warmly interested themselves in promoting it, gained the king's consent, and they were married from Sceaux. M. de Vendome did not long survive his union, as he died whilst travelling in Spain, two years afterwards.

In the summer of 1684 the Princess of Condé lost her pious mother. Her end edified every

one who beheld it; the closing incidents of it partaking as much of the marvellous and romantic as her whole career. "This woman," says one of her biographers, "gifted with so strong a mind, and with such a masculine understanding, and whose religious opinions were marked with incredulity, nevertheless believed in dreams." She who had said that the greatest miracle of Christianity would be her own conversion to the faith, was visited by a dream which produced an extraordinary effect upon her. "She dreamed she was in a forest, and that she met a blind man who spoke to her of the glories of the sun; she expressed surprise at his appreciation of an object he had never seen, to which he answered, that although he had never beheld the sun, yet he firmly believed it to be all that he had said, and therefore knew it was so. 'My example,' he then added, with an air of authority, 'should teach you that many are the admirable and excellent things which escape our sight, and which are not the less true because we can neither comprehend nor even imagine them.' When she awoke, Anne de Gonzague was an altered person, and it is her own assertion, that she was henceforward animated by a belief as firm in the truths she could neither touch nor see, as her incredulity had hitherto been inflexible. From this hour her life was really edifying, and she affronted bravely the enemy most difficult to encounter in the world in which she lived—ridicule—without flinching, and without allowing the equanimity of her temper to be dis-

turbed thereby. During twelve years, and until the moment of her death, the Princess Anne was remarkable for the simplicity of her attire, the dignified modesty of her deportment, and the immutable regularity of the pious practices to which herself and her entire household were subjected, from which not even illness could dispense, and wherein she seemed to find her sole consolation for so many wasted years. Solitude and silence appeared now best to please her, whose early life had been all business and tumult; not a word more of bitterness or scandal on those lips which were once unscrupulous when an enemy was in the case; no vanity there, where all had been self-glorification; and in place of her former pride and ambitious desires, an humble active charity, that seemed never to find veils enough to hide its workings, or the station of its object of sufficient lowliness." Truly in her was fulfilled the assertion that "Miracles believed are miracles achieved."* After her conversion, the princess made a last appearance at Court before bidding it a final farewell. She did so that those who had seen her immersed in the pleasures of life, seeking only its joys and gratifications, might witness the reality of the change effected in her; and verily it was a change, a period of twelve years affording her the opportunity of proving its persistency. Her death, which took place on the sixth of July, 1684, is thus noticed by that courtly historiographer, the marquis de Dangeau: "Madame

* Madame de Sévigné and her Cotemporaries.

la Princesse Palatine," he says, "died about three o'clock this morning (July 6th); Monsieur (the Duke of Orleans) appears deeply afflicted; he says that for twenty-two years he has not had a thought but what he has confided to her, and that the queen (his mother) had assured him she had never met any one so faithful, and who was so worthy of the most implicit confidence. She died very devoutly, after a severe penitence of twelve years,"* and was buried at Val de Grace, of which place her sister, the Queen of Poland, was Abbess.

The latter years of the Princess de Condé were passed amid some turmoil and vexation. In 1709 she lost her husband, whom, little as he deserved it, she unfeignedly regretted, as some time after his death we find Madame de Maintenon recurring to her unabated sorrow;† and hardly had she began to recover her loss when she saw her son also sink into the tomb. These were severe trials; yet was the life of the amiable princess still further embittered by the constant dissensions of her children, who were always quarrelling with her, or with one another. Even the Princess de Conti, her eldest daughter, and the most affectionate of them, was, as well as the Duchess du Maine, engaged in constant litigation with her. During the lifetime of le Grand Monarque these disputes were partially adjusted by his interference, but on his death they broke out anew with greater virulence than ever; nor did they receive a final settlement till the twentieth of

* Dangeau. † Correspondence of Madame de Maintenon.

August, 1720, when the Princess de Conti was nonsuited, and judgment was given in favour of Madame la Princesse.*

Another source of vexation to the Princess of Condé arose from the troubles in which the Duchess du Maine became involved. This spirited little lady, on the death of Louis XIV., became the head of that party in France which advocated the policy of the deceased monarch; whilst the Duke of Orleans, as is notorious, inaugurated an entirely new policy. This change was witnessed with great discontent by some of the French; and by none more so than by the Duchess du Maine, whose passions were further exasperated by the withdrawal of her husband's privileges as Prince of the Blood; for Orleans, in concert with the Duke de Bourbon and Prince de Conti, had deprived the prince of the rank conferred upon him by his father.

Philip V., King of Spain, the only surviving grandson of Louis XIV., was equally annoyed with the alterations effected in the foreign relations of France; and although he had solemnly renounced the crown of that country on accepting that of Spain, he still secretly viewed it as his legitimate appanage, and could ill brook the idea of its passing to the junior dynasty of Orleans. Uniting himself with the party in France who were admirers of *l'ancien régime*, and the old policy of Louis XIV., he formed a close alliance with the Duchess du Maine. The object of this intrigue was to seize the Regent

* Duchess of Orleans. Dangeau.

Orleans and imprison him for life, whilst the Duc du Maine was to vault into his seat; provision being made, that on the death of Louis XV. without heirs, Philip V., King of Spain, and not the Duc d'Orleans, was to be his successor.

This conspiracy, which was conducted under the auspices of the Duchess du Maine, at her country seat of Sceaux, was betrayed to the Regent before it could be put into execution. The Spanish ambassador, the Prince de Cellamare, who had been the channel of communication between the various parties, as also several of the nobility, were seized and imprisoned. The Duchess of Maine, who was at the time at Sceaux, and the duke, her husband, who was at Paris, were also arrested. Brittany, that ancient province of France which has always been foremost in the crusade of legitimacy, broke into insurrection; but the revolt was suppressed, though not without bloodshed. The regent, who was an easy, good-tempered man, and whom the duc de St. Simon familiarly christened le Debonnair, dealt leniently with the principal offenders. The Duke of Maine, who had been incarcerated at Dourlens, whilst the Duchess, his wife, was confined separately at Dijon, were liberated on the intercession of their relatives; foremost among whom was Orleans's wife. This lady, who was the sister of the Duc du Maine, and infinitely more attached to him than to her husband, rendered it difficult for the regent to proceed to extremities with his brother-in-law.

When in imprisonment the duke and duchess

had each affected to be personally innocent, and thrown the blame of their accusation on each other. The duke had even written to his sister that they ought to have stripped him and put him into petticoats for having been led by his wife: so that when they were freed from captivity, the first task of the Princess of Condé was to endeavour to reconcile the acrimonious pair. This she at last effected by bringing her daughter by appointment to Vaurigard, and introducing her to her husband; when taking her by the hand, and leading her up to the duke, she said, "I bring you a lady who will be very glad to see you;" her husband at the same time advancing, received the penitent cordially, they conversed together for some time; and then their reconciliation was effected.*

This was the last public action of the good Princess de Condé. She died at Asnières, near Paris, where her eldest daughter also had breathed her last, on the twenty-third day of February, 1723, in the seventy-fifth year of her age; having been previously preceded to the tomb by her youngest daughter, the Duchess de Vendome.

The character of Anne needs little comment. Though plain in person, and devoid of those outward charms which graced her celebrated mother, she gained no small share of admiration at Court, on account of her highly cultivated understanding; by no one being her literary powers more esteemed

* Duchess of Orleans. Dangeau. St. Simon.

than by the Grand Monarque. Nor were these her least attractions. Pious, amiable, chaste, confiding, and unassuming; as a wife, Anne always reverenced and loved, if she could not esteem, the husband who neglected, if he did not maltreat her: nor was her conduct as a mother less estimable. With high-spirited and quarrelsome daughters, and a son who displayed little affection for her, she yet conducted herself towards them as if they had been all that she could have desired; nor suffered their neglect and unkind treatment of her to lessen her attachment for them. Repaid by constant ingratitude, she was ever ready, on any fresh occasion of offence, to sacrifice her own pleasure for their aggrandizement; her conduct as a wife or a mother challenging the severest investigation. In the midst of a Court torn by rivalries and dissensions, where each sought his own good, unmindful of the happiness of those around him, Anne presented a noble example of modesty, disinterestedness and decorum. If any one required a good office to be done for them, it was to Madame la Princesse application was invariably made: her heart, which felt for the sorrows of others, ever inducing her to espouse the applicant's interests. And as she had lived, so she died; in the profession of every Christian virtue, loved and honoured by those who surrounded her, Anne tranquilly and unfearingly met the approach of the king of terrors. In a good old age, and surrounded by children and grand-children, she breathed her last. Like her mother, and her mother-in-law, her amiable

qualities seemed to atone for the vices which disgraced the male princes of the House of Condé. Alas! that all the relatives of this amiable princess should now be numbered among the dead; for with Louis, Duc d'Enghien, her great-great grandson (who was so barbarously murdered by Napoleon), perished the last descendant of the illustrious Condés; perished, we say, for although the father and grandfather of the ill-starred prince actually survived him, they never held up their heads after this fatal event: the Duke of Bourbon, his father, who was one of the emigrés, never assumed the title of Prince de Condé, but, heart-broken, died a miserable and suspicious death just after the Revolution of 1830: a revolution which gave the French crown to the treacherous family of Orleans, as well as the glorious domains of the House of Condé, which accrued to them on the death of the Duke de Bourbon, who bequeathed them to Louis Philip's fourth son, Henry, Duc d'Aumale. May those princely estates and splendid Chantilly, which have always owned, as possessors, the loyal Condés, never be stained under a new dynasty (in the person of the Duc d'Aumale's son, who has assumed the title of Prince of Condé), with the disloyalty proverbially appertaining to that faithless House; and may the new Prince de Condé redeem by the noble name, which, in compliment to his valorous relatives, he now bears, the vices and faults of his predecessors! May he be, as the Condés have ever been, the faithful servant of his king and his country!

Anne, Princess of Condé, had issue :—

- b. 1668. Louis III., Prince of Condé, m. Mademoiselle de Nantes, natural daughter of Louis XIV., d. 1710. Had issue.
  - b. 1692. Louis IV., Prince of Condé, m. Mary, daughter of Louis Francis, Prince of Conti; 2ndly, Carolina, Princess of Hesse Rhienfels, d. 1740. Had issue.
    - b. 1736. Joseph, Prince of Condé, m. Princess of Rohan, d. 1818. Had issue.
      - b. 1756. Louis V., Prince of Condé, m. Louisa, daughter of Louis Philip I., Duke of Orleans, d. s. m. 1830.
  - b. 1700. Charles, Count of Charollois, d. s. p.
  - b. 1709. Louis, Count of Clermont, d. s. p. 1771.
  - b. 1690. Mary Anne, Abbess of St. Anthony des Champs, d. s. p.
  - b. 1695. Louisa, m. Louis Armand, Prince of Conti, d. 1755.
  - b. 1695. Anne, Mademoiselle de Charollais, d. s. p.
  - b. 1697. Mary Anne, Mademoiselle de Clermont, d. s. p.
  - b. 1702. Henrietta, Mademoiselle de Vormandois, Abbess of Beaumont, d. s. p.
  - b. 1705. Elizabeth, Mademoiselle de Sens, d. s. p.
- b. 1666. Mary Theresa, m. Francis Louis, Prince of Conti, by election, King of Poland, d. 1732.
  - Louisa, Mademoiselle de Sens, d. s. p.
  - b. 1757. Louisa, Abbess of Remiremont, d. s. p.
- b. 1675. Anne, Mademoiselle de Condé, d. s. p. 1700.
- b. 1676. Louisa, m. the Duc du Maine, d. 1753.
- b. 1678. Mary Anne, m. the Duc de Vendome, d. s. p. 1718.

Louisa, born 1695, who married Louis Armand, Prince of Conti, had issue :—

b. 1717. Louis Francis, m. Elizabeth, daughter of Philip III., Duke of Orleans, d. s. m. 1776.	—	b. 1726. Louisa, m. Louis Philip I., Duke of Orleans, d. s. m. 1759.	—	b. 1722. Charles, Count de la Marche, d. s. p.

Mary Theresa, born 1666, who married Francis Louis, Prince of Conti, by election King of Poland, had issue :—

b. 1695. Louis Armand, Prince of Conti, m. Louisa of Condé, d. s. m. 1727.	—	b. 1689. Mary, m. Louis IV., Prince of Condé, d. s. m. 1720.	—	b. 1696. Louisa, Mademoiselle Roche Sur Yon, d. s. p. 1750.

Anne, born 1675, who married the Duke of Maine, had issue :—

b. 1700, Louis Augustus, Prince of Dombes, d. s. p. 1755.	—	b. 1701. Charles, Count of Eu, d. s. p.	—	b. 1707. Louisa, Mademoiselle du Maine, d. s. p.

The Descendants of Anne, Princess of Condé, are now extinct.

IX.

BENEDICTA,

DUCHESS OF HANOVER,

Née Princess Palatine.

Benedicta Henrietta Philippa, third daughter of Prince Edward Palatine, and younger sister of Anne, Princess of Condé, was born in 1652. She married, 1668, John Frederick, Duke of Hanover, elder brother and predecessor of that Ernest Augustus, more familiar to English readers as the father of our George I. This prince, who was the last Catholic who reigned over Hanover, had not been reared in that faith, but had embraced it during his travels in Italy, in 1657. As a Romanist, and attached to the French party in Germany, he was considered by Louis XIV. a desirable suitor for the hand of the Princess Benedicta. They were married on the twentieth of November, 1668; but as their union was unblessed with male issue, the duchy descended, on the duke's decease, to his younger brother, Ernest Augustus. Duke John, finding that his profession of Catholicism rendered him unpopular with his subjects, determined on going to reside with his family in Italy; but on his way thither, being suddenly attacked with illness, he expired

at Augsburg, on the eighteenth of December, 1679. This sad event necessitated a change in Benedicta's arrangements, and instead of taking up her residence in Italy, as she had previously intended, she returned to France, where she occupied herself with the education of her family. Unfortunately she was not left in very affluent circumstances; notwithstanding which she formed the most lofty alliances for her children. She had set her heart on marrying her eldest daughter to the Duc du Maine, son of Louis XIV., but unluckily that monarch preferred a niece of Benedicta's, the Princess de Condé. Of her four daughters, two died young, leaving Charlotte Felicita, who married the Duke of Modena, and Wilhelmina, who espoused the Emperor Joseph I. of Germany. This latter princess, by the same fatality that attended her mother and grandmother, had no male issue; so that by a continued failure of male princes, the Palatinate, Hanover, and Austria all passed away from the ill-fated House of Simmeren. A detailed history of Benedicta of Hanover, would involve the reader in the mazy field of German politics; and as the part she enacted in them was neither a prominent nor important one, we will spare them a tedious recapitulation. Benedicta, who, after her husband's death, continuously resided in France, died there at the age of seventy-eight, at Asnières, her sister's residence, August, 1730.

Her issue were :—

b. 1671. Charlotte, m. Rivaldo, Duke of Modena, d. 1710. Issue,
- b. 1698. Francis, Duke of Modena, m. Charlotte, daughter of Philip II., Duke of Orleans, d. s. m.
  - b. 1722. Frederick Christian, m. his cousin Mary Antoinette, d. 1763. Issue,
    - b. 1750. Frederick Augustus IV., King of Saxony, d. 1827. Issue,
      - b. 1782. Augusta, s. p.
    - b. 1752. Charles, d. s. p. 1781.
    - b. 1755. Anthony, King of Saxony, m. 1stly, Mary, daughter of Victor Amadeus III., King of Sardinia; 2ndly, Mary Theresa, daughter of Leopold II., Emperor of Germany; d. s. p. 1836.
  - b. 1730. Xavier, d. s. p. 1806.
  - b. 1733. Charles, Duke of Courland, d. s. p. 1801.
  - b. 1738. Albert, Duke of Saxe-Teschen, m. Christina, daughter of the Empress Mary Theresa, d. s. p.
  - b. 1739. Clement, Elector of Treves, d. s. p.
  - b. 1724. Amelia, m. Charles III., King of Spain, d. 1760.
  - b. 1728. Anne, m. Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, d. s. p.
  - b. 1731. Josephine, m. Louis, Dauphin of France, d. s. m. 1767.
  - b. 1735. Christina, Abbess of Remirement, d. s. p. 1782.
  - b. 1740. Cunejunda, Princess of Essen, d. s. p.
- b. 1700. John, d. s. p. 1727.
- b. 1697. Benedicta, d. s. p. 1777.
- b. 1699. Amelia, d. s. p. 1778.
- b. 1702. Henrietta, m. Anthony Farnese, Duke of Parma, d. s. p.
- b. 1673. Wilhelmina, m. Joseph I., Emperor of Germany, b. 1742. Issue,
  - b. 1699. Josephine, m. Frederick Augustus III., King of Poland, d. 1757. Issue,
    - b. 1759. Maximilian, m. Caroline, daughter of Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, d. s. m. 1838.
    - b. 1757. Amelia, m. Charles Augustus, Prince of Deux Ponts, d. s. p.
  - b. 1701. Amelia, m. Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, d. 1756.

Issue of Amelia, born 1724, wife of Charles III., King of Spain :—

- b. 1747. Philip, d. s. p. 1777.
- b. 1748. Charles IV., King of Spain, m. Louisa, daughter of Philip, Duke of Parma, d. s. m. 1819.
- b. 1751. Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies, m. Caroline, daughter of the Empress Mary Theresa, d. s. m. 1825.
- b. 1752. Gabriel, m. a Princess of Portugal, d. 1788. Issue,
  - b. 1786. Peter, m. Theresa, daughter of John VI., King of Portugal, d. s. m. 1812.
- b. 1755. Anthony, m. his niece Amelia, d. s. p. 1815.
- b. 1757. Francis, d. s. p.
- b. 1744. Josephine, d. s. p.
- b. 1745. Mary Louisa, m. Leopold II., Emperor of Germany, d. s. m. 1792.

Issue of Amelia, born 1701, daughter of the Emperor Joseph I., of Germany, and wife of the Emperor Charles VII. :—

- b. 1727. Maximilian, m. his cousin Anne, daughter of Augustus III., King of Poland, d. s. p. 1777.
- b. 1724. Mary Antoinette, m. Frederick Christian, Elector of Saxony, d. s. m. 1780.
- b. 1734. Mary, m. Augustus George, Margrave of Baden-Baden, d. s. p. 1776.
- b. 1739. Josephine, m. Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, d. s. p. 1767.

The Descendants of Benedicta, Duchess of Hanover are merged in those of Anne, Queen of Sardinia; as will be seen from this table.

X.

THE PRINCESS PALATINE LOUISA.

Louisa Hollandina, the second daughter of Frederick V., and Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, was born in Holland on the eighteenth day of April, 1622. She was excluded from the British throne, as a Roman Catholic, by the passing of the Act of Succession; although never actually denuded of her rights, as she died before her cousin Queen Anne, after whom alone she could have ascended it. Louisa was celebrated no less for her beauty, which stood instantaneously revealed to all beholders, than for her proficiency in the fine arts, and under the guidance of Gerard Honthorst her paintings attained such excellence as to rank her among the artists of the age, even if they did not excel the productions of the great master himself.

It had been originally intended to match Louisa with her cousin, Frederick William of Prussia, and for some time there appeared every prospect of the desired alliance taking place. The young Prince, who was afterwards known as Frederick William the Great, visited his cousin at the Hague, and was much smitten with the beauty of the blooming girl of seventeen. Unfortunately, Frederick William's father, instigated by his ministers, who represented the poverty and lack of influence of Louisa's family as insuperable obstacles to the match, determined to withdraw his consent, and

sent his son peremptory orders to return to Berlin. A first summons was disregarded; but, on a second, Frederick William was reluctantly compelled to yield, protesting nevertheless that he would yet return to the Hague to claim his lovely cousin for his bride. Writers disagree on the partiality which this Princess is said to have exhibited for her suitor, for whilst Mrs. Green* says that the attachment was mutual, the Baroness de Bury,† on the contrary, affirms that she manifested great indifference towards him; and that Frederick William, far from being in love with her, only sought an alliance with her sister Elizabeth: at all events, and by whatever motives actuated, Frederick William never married his cousin, as a few years afterwards he espoused her namesake, Louisa of Orange, and so ended the only reasonable prospect which ever presented itself of the Princess Louisa entering the married estate.

Louisa, who was decidedly her mother's favourite, remained at the poverty-stricken court of the Hague long after her other children had deserted her; but a time was to arrive when she, who should have been her parent's solace, was doomed to inflict upon her the severest blow she had yet received. On the motives which led Louisa to desert her ancestors' faith and embrace the tenets of the Church of Rome, we will not pronounce an opinion. God alone, the reader of all hearts, can

* Green's Princesses of England, vol. vi.

† Baroness de Bury's Princess Palatine.

determine how far her convictions were sincere, and to what extent she was actuated by worldly motives; but from what can be gathered of her proceedings, coupled with her romantic and poetical temperament, we should be inclined to give her credit for sincerity; and if such were the case she scarcely merits condemnation for her course of procedure. The fact is, that even from childhood Louisa's mind had been vividly impressed by the gorgeous ceremonies of the Romish church: she had often attended its service with her aunt, Queen Henrietta Maria, and this practice, most deleterious in its tendencies to one of so susceptible a nature, had been continued unknown to her mother. The consequences might have been foreseen. On the evening of the ninth of December, 1657, with the cognizance only of a female friend, Louisa left the maternal roof, and getting into a boat, which was lying in readiness for her, proceeded to Delftshaven; from whence she journeyed to Bergen op Zoom (the residence of her friend the Princess of Hohenzollern) *en route* for Antwerp, where she entered a Carmelite nunnery. For her mother, as the only intimation of her departure, and the motives which instigated it, she left the following letter :—

"MADAM,—The respect which I have for your majesty is too great to permit me to do anything purposely to displease you, and God knows that no impulse, except that of his Spirit, could ever have induced me to undertake any action, however reasonable, without having first communicated it to you; but in this contingency, the affair being one of heaven, and not of this world, and one in which I

should doubtless have found your majesty opposed to the guidings of Divine Providence in my behalf, I could not act otherwise, and all my duty consisted in advertising you of my resolution by the means which I now employ.

"I must tell you, then, Madam, that the Christmas festivals being so near, I have been obliged to withdraw from your majesty, from fear of being wished to receive the sacrament against my conscience, since at length it has pleased God to discover to me the surest way of salvation, and to give me to know that the Catholic religion is the only way, out of which there can be no other. As to the reasons and instructions which have thus persuaded me, I shall take the liberty to inform your majesty further when I am arrived at the place, whither I am going solemnly to embrace this belief; but yet, Madam, I trust you will pardon me for a course which is inspired by a power which the powers of earth vainly resist, and which I have only resolved to adopt from the pure motive of assuring the repose of my soul, protesting to your majesty that you shall discover, by the results of this enterprise, that I have no other aim than that of securing a tranquil retreat, where I may have full leisure for the service of God, and to testify to you in all things that I am, and wish to remain all my life, Madam, your majesty's most humble and most obedient servant,

"LOUISE."

"*The* 19*th December*, 1657."*

The distress into which the Queen of Bohemia was thrown, when this missive was placed in her hands, may be better imagined than described, as uncognizant of where Louisa had taken refuge, she felt only the agonizing conviction that she had deserted her. The mystery, however, was soon unravelled, for on searching Louisa's cabinet, a letter was found from the Princess of Hohenzollern, detailing the manner in which she was to effect her escape, instructions which it appeared had been implicitly followed. Armed with this epistle the Bohemian queen reproached the Princess of Hohenzollern,

* Green's Princesses of England.

who was her friend also, for her treachery; but the Princess defended herself from her reproaches by the plea, that her conscience precluded her from refusing to assist a fellow-creature, who appealed to her for aid under such circumstances, and who was desirous of embracing, what she considered, the true faith. More indignant than ever at these excuses, which she viewed as only shuffling and evasive, Elizabeth next appealed to the States-General for redress; and here she was more successful, as the States, taking her petition into consideration, determined on punishing the Princess of Hohenzollern, by depriving her of certain privileges which she enjoyed in the appointment of the magistracy of Bergen op Zoom. This so irritated the Princess, that she threw out some tolerably plain hints that Louisa's conversion was attributable to any but the motives she had assigned for it; a statement which only served to widen the breach between herself and the Palatine family. The Queen of Bohemia, the Elector Palatine, and Prince Rupert, were all in arms to defend Louisa's honour, until finding the Princess was determined on substantiating her assertions by written proofs, they wisely desisted from further provoking her. Throughout this controversy it seems strange to find Louisa herself, as well as her brother Edward, openly defending the Hohenzollern Princess, and if, as that lady alleged, her only fault consisted in having rendered Louisa assistance when appealed to for it, her conduct does not

seem to have been so very censurable, or deserving of such intense indignation; at all events, if she were to blame, Prince Edward was equally culpable.

Whilst Louisa was at Antwerp she was visited by her cousins, King Charles II., the Duke of York, and the Princess of Orange. The Queen of Bohemia in a letter to Prince Rupert, thus alludes to the interview: "The king and my niece and my other nephew were at Antwerp, and went to see Louisa in the monastery. They wrote to me before they saw her to know if I would be content for them to see her, which I told them would be too much honour for her, though as the Princess of Hohenzollern had told such base lies, they would do a good action to see her and justify her innocence. The Princess of Hohenzollern went to Antwerp twice, and conversed with Louisa. I have not yet the particulars, but Louisa writes they parted on ill terms. The Princess made many believe on her return she brought me letters from the king, my niece, and Louisa, to justify her, and talked two hours with me, which is a most impudent lie. I forgot to say that the king and my niece chided Louisa for her change of religion, and leaving me so unhandsomely: she answered that she was very well satisfied with her change, but very sorry that she had displeased me. Just now the French letters have come to hand. —— writes to me that the Bishop of Antwerp has written a letter to your brother Edward, where he clears Louisa of that

base calumny, yet Ned is so wilful he excuses the Princess of Hohenzollern."*

Louisa did not long continue at Antwerp. Her ulterior destination had always been France, and thither accordingly she wended her steps, after having made a formal renunciation of Protestantism at Antwerp. Arrived there she entered the convent of Chaillot, patronised so extensively, it may be recollected, by her illustrious relatives, Queens Henrietta and Mary Beatrice of England, and there she was treated with marked distinction, and caressed and rejoiced over by the Royal Family, who gloried in this princely convert from the Protestant creed. In the March of 1660, in the midst of a royal and illustrious assemblage, Louisa took the veil at the Abbey of Maubisson, and in 1664 she was elected its abbess. Over her behaviour in this, her exalted station, charity would induce us to cast a veil, as we fear there is little doubt but that her niece, the Duchess of Orleans's insinuations, bear upon them the impress of truth.† That this Princess was actuated by no ill feelings towards her aunt in recording them is evident, for she says, "The Princess Maubisson was astonishingly pleasant and amiable. I was always delighted to visit her, and never felt myself tired in her society. I soon found myself in much greater favour than any other of

* Benger's Queen of Bohemia.

† The Duchess of Orleans says, she used commonly to swear by her body, which had borne no less than fourteen children.—Memoirs of the Duchess of Orleans.

her nieces, because I could converse with her about almost everybody she had known in the whole course of her life, which the others could not. She used frequently to talk German with me, which she knew very well, and she told me all her adventures. I asked her how she could accustom herself to the monastic life. She laughed and said, 'I never speak to the nuns but to give orders.' She had a deaf nun with her, in her own chamber, that she might not feel any desire to speak. She told me that she had always been fond of a country life, and that she still could fancy herself a country girl. 'But,' I asked her, 'how do you like getting up and going to church in the middle of the night?' She replied, that she did as the painters do, who increase the splendour of their light, by the introduction of deep shadows. She had in general the faculty of giving to all things a turn which deprived them of their absurdity."*

In her latter years, however, Louisa undoubtedly became more religious, and laboured zealously to reclaim her sister Sophia to her adopted creed; but this Princess, too principled, or too wary, refused to embrace a faith which would have proved so detrimental to her temporal interests. Whilst Louisa openly expressed her wish that the son of James II. would supplant her (Sophia) in the possession of the British throne, Sophia, with equal frankness, condescended to argue the point with her, nor felt offended by her avowal of ultra-Stuartism. It is pleasing to

* Duchess of Orleans.

find these two sisters, in their old age, when the other members of their family had been laid nearly half a century in the dust, reverting, with increasing tenderness, to each other's society; and so cordially united to each other notwithstanding their opposing sentiments and interests; corresponding, moreover, on subjects so tender of approach as political ones—without acrimony—and without ill feeling. Louisa, who was the elder, was first destined to succumb to the destroyer. She died at Maubisson, after a reign of forty-four years there as its abbess, on the eleventh day of February, 1709, in the eighty-seventh year of her age. Bossuet pronounced her funeral oration, which is, perhaps, the most destitute of truth of any delivered by that great orator. His eulogy on her virtue is certainly as misplaced as it is uncalled-for; for certainly, were his portraiture of her truthful, she ought at least to have been canonized as a saint. Certain little delinquencies of a moral nature were, however, too notorious to be ignored, although Bossuet, by his admirable power of oratory, has managed tolerably successfully to gloss them over. Contrary to the custom of the French court, which never donned sable attire for those who had adopted a religious life, a general mourning was ordered for this Princess, a circumstance which, from its being unprecedented, created some little sensation at the time. Thus died in a foreign land, and was honourably mourned, the last of the Ten Excluded Stuarts!

THE LINEAL DES STU A

Egbert,
King of England,
d. 838.
|
Ethelwolf,
ng of England,
d. 855.

— Ethelred I.,
King of Engla
d. s. p. 871.

ald,
. p.

K

*** The names printed in red show those through whom the Succe
d. died.
d. s. p. died succession perishing, *i.e.* without issue.
d. s. m. died succession merging, *i.e.* the succession continu
b. born.
m. married.

THE DESCENDANTS OF SOPHIA, DUCHESS OF HANOVER.

The following are the Descendants of Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, mother of George I., who alone are eligible to succeed to the throne of England, in consonance with the Act of Succession passed 13th William III.: an act which renders it imperative that they join in communion with the Church of England. After her most gracious Majesty the Queen, and her family; they stand thus in order of succession :—

1. The King of Hanover, b. 1819.
2. The Duke of Cambridge, b. 1819.
3. Augusta, wife of Prince Frederick of Mecklenburg Strelitz, b. 1822.
4. The Princess Mary of Cambridge, b. 1833.
5. Charles, ci-devant Duke of Brunswick, b. 1804.
6. The Duke of Brunswiek, b. 1806.
7. The King of Wirtemburg, b. 1781.
8. Prince Frederick of Wirtemburg, b. 1808.
9. Prince Augustus of Wirtemburg, b. 1813.
10. Charlotte, widow of the late Grand Duke Michael of Russia, b. 1807.
11. Paulina, Duchess Dowager of Nassau, b. 1810.
12. Prince Napoleon of France, b. 1822.
13. The Princess Matilda, wife of Count Demidoff, b. 1820.
14. Caroline, wife of Ferdinand, Hereditary Prince of Denmark, b. 1793.
15. Wilhelmina, Ex-Queen of Denmark, b. 1808.
16. The Duke of Holstein, b. 1798.
17. Prince Frederick of Holstein, b. 1800.
18. Caroline, Queen Dowager of Denmark, b. 1796.
19. The King of Holland, b. 1817.

20. Prince Henry of Holland, b. 1820.
21. The Grand Duchess of Saxe Weimar Eisenach, b. 1824.
22. Prince Frederick of Holland, b. 1797.
23. Marianne, wife of Prince Albert of Prussia, b. 1810.
24. The Duke of Nassau, b. 1817.
25. Theresa, wife of Prince Peter of Oldenburg, b. 1815.
26. The Princess Mary of Wied, b. 1825.
27. Henrietta, widow of Duke Alexander of Wirtemburg, b. 1780.
28. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel, b. 1799.
29. The Princess Caroline of Hesse-Cassel, b. 1799.
30. The Duchess of Saxe Meiningen Heldbourghausen, b. 1804.
31. Juliana, Abbess of Itzehœ, b. 1773.
32. The Duchess Dowager of Schleswig-Holstein Glucksberg, b. 1789.
33. Prince William of Hesse-Cassel, b. 1787.
34. Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, b. 1790.
35. Prince George of Hesse-Cassel, b. 1793.
36. The Countess of Decken, b. 1794.
37. The Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz, b. 1796.
38. The Duchess of Cambridge, b. 1797.
39. Prince Gustavus of Sweden, b. 1799.
40. The Duchess Dowager of Baden, b. 1801.
41. Duke Elimar of Oldenburg, b. 1844.
42. The King of Prussia, b. 1795.
43. The Prince of Prussia, b. 1797.
44. Prince Charles of Prussia, b. 1801.
45. Prince Albert of Prussia, b. 1809.
46. The Empress Dowager of Russia, b. 1798.
47. The Duchess Dowager of Mecklenburg Schwerin, b. 1803.
48. Louisa, wife of Prince Frederick of Holland, b. 1808.
49. Prince Frederick of Prussia, b. 1794.
50. Prince Adalbert of Prussia, b. 1811.
51. Elizabeth, wife of Prince Charles of Hesse, b. 1815.
52. The Queen of Bavaria, b. 1825.

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